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HISTORY
OF
NOVA SCOTIA

BY
DAVID ALLISON, M.A., LL. D.

VOLUME I

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FOREWORD

It is due to the Publishers of this History to state that in its preparation they left the author free to use his own judgment as to its precise scope and plan. For these, as much as for the actual execution of the work, he acknowledges his entire responsibility.

The narrative closes at the constitutional reorganization of Nova Scotia under the British North American Act in 1867. The original precast included a sketch of the purely domestic or Provincial as distinguished from the Federal issues and events belonging to the period subsequent to Confederation and extending down to a comparatively recent date. This plan was dropped, not because interesting and important material for such use was lacking, but for other reasons. Doubts arose as to whether the time for its successful historical treatment had yet arrived. The writer who happens to have been contemporary with the events which he relates clearly has some advantages in his favor. Equally plain, however, are the disadvantages under which he labors. Everyone is not a Justin McCarthy, to narrate dispassionately the events of his "Own Times." Besides, so prominent a part in the Federal drama was often played by Canadian statesmen, who were Nova Scotians, too, that it would often be difficult to determine to which side of the line between re-Dominion and Province, a given issue or event belongs. Much Canadian history would be sure to work its way into the Nova Scotian sketches.

It must be remembered that these humble volumes are intended for the "general reader," who perhaps may find as much to interest him in studies of Champlain and Mascarene, of Archibald and Howe, as he would have derived from ever so copious citations from successive Canada Year Books.

There is no disposition to shield the work in advance from charges sure to be brought against it—and justly so—of bad perspective and monstrous disproportion. It is a relief, however, to find that the last State History¹ coming under notice, though it tells the story of the Empire State from the time of the earliest Dutch settlements to the present day, devotes fully three-fourths of its space to the colonial and revolutionary periods.

THE AUTHOR.

¹ *History of the State of New York*, by Professor Charles F. Horne, of the College of the City of New York.

PREFACE

All life and achievement is evolution; present wisdom comes from past experience, and present commercial prosperity has come only from past exertion. The deeds and motives of the men who have gone before have been instrumental in shaping the destinies of later communities and provinces. The development of a new country was at once a task and a privilege. It required courage, privation and sacrifice. Compare the present conditions of the people of Nova Scotia with what they were a century and a half ago. From a trackless wilderness it has come to be a center of prosperity and civilization, with millions of wealth, modern systems of railways, grand educational institutions, splendid and varied industries, thriving manufacturing and commercial centers. Can any thinking person be insensible to the fascination of the study which discloses the aspirations and efforts of the early pioneers, who laid such an excellent foundation upon which has been reared the great prosperity of today? To perpetuate the story of these people and to trace and record the social, political and industrial progress of the Province from its first inception is the function of the local historian. A sincere purpose to preserve facts that are deserving of perpetuation, and which unites the present to the past, is the motive of this publication. The work has been in the hands of an able writer, David Allison, M. A., LL. D., who has after much patient study and careful research, produced the most complete historical record of Nova Scotia ever offered to the public.

The object of this work is to supply the people of Nova Scotia with a readable, reliable, and reasonably comprehensive history of their Province during the past two hundred years. In general this history will be found to conform to the promises made in the prospectus, also to harmonise with the traditional conception of historical writing as the record of events affecting the body politic as a whole, rather than the fortunes of its individual members.

Respectively,

THE PUBLISHERS.

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HISTORY OF NOVA SCOTIA

ACADIA

(1604-1613)

PRELIMINARY

As the peninsula and island which since 1820 have composed the province of Nova Scotia were included in the French colony of Acadia, a sketch of the latter's history forms a natural introduction to the main subject of this work. A cursory outline must suffer in interest from the omission of much of that variety of striking, picturesque, and almost dramatic incident with which the annals of Acadia abound. The story, however, possesses features of intrinsic and perennial interest which demand recognition even in an abbreviated summary.

A profession on the part of a writer or compiler of history of complete detachment from partisan bias must be taken for what it is worth. Happily since the occurrences of the events about to be related in this introductory chapter,—events involving more or less controversial material—much has happened to render it easy, or easier than it once was, to narrate and describe them impartially. The farther we are removed from the century to which this record belongs, the more complete the revolution in national relationships effected by time, the more natural does it seem to be to refer matters, once treated with heat and passion, to the verdict of unbiased judgment.

France and England, long hereditary enemies, were during most of the seventeenth century, engaged in a struggle for the possession of North America, a struggle into whose vortex Acadia, often as a hapless and helpless victim, was almost invariably drawn. But now for more than a century between these once belligerent nations there

has prevailed the relation of outward peace, and for the most part that of internal good will as well. They have not crossed swords since Waterloo, while today they are far more than mere friends and peaceably disposed neighbors; they are allies in a peculiarly intimate sense at one of the most critical junctures in the world's history. It is surely an impressive spectacle to see them on the very ground where so often they fought each other, standing shoulder to shoulder to protect the weak, to avenge the wronged, to maintain international honor and good faith, to save the ark of civilisation from utter wreckage.

Other relations, too, besides that between France and England have undergone reversal with the progress of the years. Old England and New England are not to one another what they were during the century of conflict coincident with the Acadian period. Then they had a common sovereignty, and as far as the great battle for continental supremacy was concerned, a common interest. If occasional frictions showed themselves,—whether due to maternal neglect or lack of filial docility—they disappeared in presence of a common enemy. When that enemy once ceased to threaten, friction recurred and complete political separation of daughter from mother soon followed. There remain ties of sympathy and affection, due to community of blood, as well as of language, fundamental law and historic tradition, which draw closely together not only England and New England, but the people of the British Empire and the people of the United States. It is pleasant to believe that these ties have not been weakened with the passing of a century of unbroken international peace, and, especially in view of the world-conditions which prevail, that they were never as strong as now. Such considerations do not affect the main fact that the various colonies and districts that constituted the New England of the seventeenth century and which, identified with the mother country, will play so prominent a part in this sketch and in some succeeding chapters, has been for a century and a third completely dissevered from the British Crown,—as much to us parts of a foreign country as the departments of France or the pashalics of Turkey.

To English-speaking peoples of the seventeenth century Canada was a name of almost abhorrent repugnance. To them it typified

deep-seated racial and religious antagonism, hostility to everything bearing the stamp of British institutions and British tradition. What is it today? It is the name freely chosen by the confederated Provinces of British North America to express their collective unity, and so by the irony of fate it has happened that what was in the seventeenth century the name of the chief colony of New France, is now in the twentieth the name of the premier self-governing colony of Great Britain.

A few lines more will complete this hurried tracery of contrasts between *then* and *now*, between the international relations of the seventeenth century and those of the twentieth, all, when carefully observed, tending to reduce the temptation to indulge in biased statements and interpretations. The contrast which remains to be noticed is perhaps the most impressive of all, and should be the most effective in blunting the edge of prejudice. Acadia has not been since 1713, as it was during the period covered by this sketch, the name of a distinct geographical area or political entity or division. The obliteration of the name did not mean the extinction of the race. Transfer of allegiance did not affect its continuity nor restrict its expansion. At a later period, too, it showed its indestructible vitality and remarkable solidarity by surviving as a solid recognizable ethnic stock, a catastrophe that would have swept to the winds of heaven, or utterly crushed a less cohesive and sturdy one. The people of Acadian descent within the limits of the Acadia of their forefathers now number sixty for every one of the same race transferred to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. They are loyal British subjects to the core.

The period of what may be called the historical Acadia extended from 1604, the date of the original attempt at colonisation under de Monts, to 1713, the date of the treaty of Utrecht, when the colony was dismembered and its mainland portion ceded to England. This Acadia included a tract of country lying between the St. Croix and Penobscot rivers, now part of the State of Maine; otherwise its area corresponded pretty closely with that of the present Maritime or Atlantic Provinces of Canada. It must, however, be borne in mind that this delimitation under the comprehensive term Acadia does not date

back to the initial period of settlement, but answers to a much later development.

The most eminent authority¹ on maritime antiquities has made it clear that the primitive, as distinguished from the historical, Acadia was the southern coast line of the Nova Scotian peninsula, with an uncertain breadth of interior territory, and perhaps also a limited extension towards the west; and further that the original and proper name of this primeval prehistoric region was Arcadia. The evidence on which these assertions rest seems conclusive. It is one of the common places of historical geography that Europe was chiefly indebted to Italy for her primary knowledge of the western hemisphere. Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, John and Sebastian Cabot, Giovanni da Verrazano,—to say nothing of Ramusio—were all Italians. So, we owe much gratitude to early Italian cartographers for the service they have rendered in clearing up the mystery which so long enshrouded the primitive Acadia. Certain old Italian maps bearing date about the middle of the sixteenth century, when swept of dust and subjected to expert examination, revealed the name Arcadia written above a stretch of North Atlantic coast quite easily identifiable with our peninsular ocean frontage south-westerly from Canso. Thus two questions seem to receive a simultaneous answer, the one referring to the name, the other to the location, of the primitive Acadia. On both points the testimony of the maps is absolutely confirmed by that of the great explorer Samuel Champlain. In his *Des Sauvages*, the journal in which he records the results of his first visit to the Saint Lawrence, he makes repeated references to “the coast (or coasts) of Arcadia,” said coast or coasts being distinctly located as on the maps, the shore line of the peninsula from Canso westward. The united and absolutely concurrent testimonies of the maps and Champlain establish beyond all reasonable question that Acadia is a weakened form, a sort of lineal descendant of a primitive Arcadia, and not a Micmac word with a dozen conjectural meanings, much less a Micmac word-ending, derivation from which, or identification with which, would be contrary to all known analogies of verbal formation. How it happened that in the commission issued to de Monts,—a document

¹ Dr. W. F. Ganong.

of almost exactly the same date as Champlain's *Des Sauvages*—not L'Arcadie (Arcadia) but La Cadie (Acadia') is the form used will be inquired into when the commission itself comes up for consideration. It is sufficient to point out that La Cadie can lay no claim to the honor of priority or originality of form, except on the ground of its early appearance in an official document. Acadia (Acadie), it cannot be questioned, became in time the established form of the name. It, however, gained this honor only after a sharp and quite protracted struggle with a number of rival variants from Arcadia, its true etymological parent. It may be mentioned incidentally that scholars of repute, unaware of the testimony of the maps and Champlain on the point, strongly suspected that this relationship existed. If the history of languages establishes anything conclusively it is that the fact of a word establishing itself as the quasi-final or permanent form, is no warrant for assuming that it was the original one, or that it has any special claims except those based on accident or mistake.

If it should be asked why the Italian cartographers affixed the name Arcadia to that particular stretch of coast, the answer is forthcoming. The mid-sixteenth century maps abound in names derived from the classical dictionary, a most convenient source in later times as well as then.¹

For at least a quarter of a century after the beginning of French colonization south of the St. Lawrence, Acadia was not in use as the recognized name of a well-known and tolerably well-defined country, embracing a larger or smaller number of local settlements. If some sort of a category was needed in which to include these particular localities, New France or some still more indefinite generality, supplied the need. Acadia, in early times familiar only to geographers and navigators, was used in a restricted sense to designate the southern coast of the peninsula, invariably in the stereotyped form "the coast of Acadia." So Champlain *passim*. In Lescarbot's History of New France the name does not occur at all except in a quoted document. Though the historian spent a winter at Port Royal,—the very

¹The traveller through Central and Western New York can see (or, hear) for himself how a celebrated Governor of that great State used his *Lamprore* to besprinkle the valleys and the hill tops with *Hions*, *Romes*, *Syracuses*, *Utracas*, *Tullys*, *Scipios*, and *Fabii*.

heart of the hypothetical Acadia,—instead of using the name in the celebrated chapter in which he relates the fortunes of the Acadian enterprise, he represents himself as describing “the voyages of MM. de Monts and du Pontreincourt to the coast of New-Found-Land, which is bathed by the Great Ocean.” Acadia was a new-found-land, but it had not yet (as late as 1618) found its name. And surely had Lescarbot had such a name as Acadia at command, he would have used it in the quaint reference to de Monts and his party as they sailed off in search of a site: “The whole of *New France* being at length assembled in two ships, they weighed anchor from Port Mouton.”

Eventually a broader application began to show itself, first among the map makers who extended the name to the entire peninsula, and then on the part of others who needed a term to include the whole area of settlement. But its growth to generality was very slow. The long periods of English occupation, and the Scotch with their Nova Scotia, had a confusing effect on its use. Indeed it cannot be said to have become a general term defining the area and boundaries we have given to the historical Acadia until after the Treaty of Breda (1667-1670), when Colbert brought the scattered settlements together under a common government and directly connected the unified aggregate with the colonial system of France; when indeed as one of our Canadian historians expresses it without much extravagance, “Acadia first became a French possession.”

Much of the preparatory matter ordinarily employed to lead up to an account of the settlement of New France must be either omitted, or dismissed with bare mention. The prehistoric Helluland, Vinland, and Markland of the Icelandic sagas; the discovery of America; researches into the racial and tribal peculiarities of the aborigines; the voyages of the Cabots, the Cortereals, Verrazano; Jacques Cartier's discovery and exploration of the St. Lawrence; the daring ventures of English navigators to find an Arctic waterway to China; abortive French attempts at colonisation from Florida to Sable Island,—the only point in this hasty and incomplete enumeration at which the interests of the forthcoming narrative might seem to require a pause is at the name of Jaques Cartier of Saint Malo.

It is no fault of Cartier's if, north of St. Augustine, America at

the dawn of the seventeenth century was without a civilized inhabitant. His Laurentian discoveries and explorations were magnificent. They gave France an opportunity, which, improved, might have gained for her the ownership and sovereignty of North America. Unfortunately just as the opportunity ripened, the country was drawn into a maelstrom of civil and religious warfare, in which she was kept whirling for half a century.

Even though his discoveries and explorations bore no immediate fruit in colonisation, Cartier's voyages were not without beneficial results to the mercantile interests of France. They opened up for French commerce perhaps the finest inshore fishing district in the world. More and more the Grand Banks found in the teeming waters and sheltered harbors of the Gulf powerful competitors for the trade which they had once monopolised. More and more, too, France acquired an ascendancy in the Atlantic fisheries both inside and outside of Cape Race; particularly in the inner protected waters she was without a rival. Several causes combined to secure this pre-eminence to France. Portugal whose fishing vessels on the Banks once outnumbered those of all other nations combined had practically passed out of sight as a maritime power when she entered into her "sixty years' captivity" to Spain. England's naval strength was greater than ever, but her interest in the Atlantic fishing business had been reduced, first as an effect of the change in the national religion which made a constant and abundant supply of sea-food less essential, and then by a greater appreciation of sources nearer home. As for France, singularly enough, the long drawn out and bitterly contested wars of religion and disputed successions did not affect the development of the business, which had grown to such proportions at the end of the sixteenth century that no less than five hundred fishing craft were estimated to be on the Banks or in the Gulf.

But it was not only by the disclosure of new fishing grounds that Cartier's discoveries brought the old and new worlds nearer together. The beaver as well as the cod was a king of commerce in those days. The forest was as great a mine of wealth as the ocean itself. The trade in peltry soon acquired large proportions, for it was very lucrative; a couple of successful trips meant the making of a fortune.

The cost of the vessel was practically the only preliminary outlay, as there was little risk save that incident to an ocean voyage. But naturally the competition became keen, and hence arose the desirability of protected areas. Unlike the fishing business, the object of which was to provide food for the millions,—indeed food for all,—the fur trade sought articles of luxury for the few. The conduct of the former naturally fell into the hands of ordinary folk; that of the latter was mainly for gentlemen, the only branch of trade in which the titled classes could engage without loss of dignity. Surprise has been expressed that de Monts was able to secure as associates in his expedition to Acadia so many men of rank and title, and the fact has been put to his credit as proving him possessed of extraordinary skill in attracting to his standard men of influence and position. The fact is that de Monts was on a commercial venture under the protection of a special franchise; the men who walked the quarterdeck with him were for the most part professional fur-traders, quite in the line of business.

By means of these two transatlantic industries, before a tree had been felled, much less an acre cleared, in what was afterwards to become Acadia, names in common use today, were strewn along its coasts, east and north—names which at the beginning of the seventeenth century were familiar sounds on the wharves of St. Malo and Honfleur,—Canso, Cape Breton, Miramichi and Gaspé.

Whatever the activity of the fishermen and the fur-traders, the fact remained that the whole Atlantic sea-board of North America was still an unbroken wilderness, save for a small Spanish settlement in Florida, and for occasional patches of clearing where the most civilised, or least nomadic, of the Indian tribes raised their precarious crops of maize and pumpkins. Claims of ownership and sovereignty over this vast stretch of territory were preferred by various European nations, but most conspicuously by France and England. Spain had not as yet formally renounced her title to the entire continent which, under august sanctions, she had held for upwards of a century. Florida still figured on her maps as stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic ocean, but the dream of a Spanish North America had vanished forever. North of Mexico the continent afforded no facilities for her "colonisation by conquest" method. Moreover, the strength

that had inspired and maintained her aggressive policy of colonial extension was seriously impaired, worse than wasted in attempts to abridge the rights and liberties of her own subjects, and sapped by a succession of wars with such antagonists as Elizabeth, William the Silent, and Henry of Navarre. She had lost both the sovereignty of the seas and the hegemony of Europe. With St. Augustine marking the limit of her progress northward, there was nothing for her to do but look on while her old-time rivals fought for the splendid prize of an unoccupied continent.

The claims of England and France to the Atlantic frontage of North America were practically co-extensive, though the former allowed Spain the part of Florida which she had actually settled, a right which France at least theoretically denied.

As we are leading up to a narrative of French colonisation, it may be interesting to ascertain from Lescarbot what his country's claims really were: "I comprise then in New France all the territory from the Tropic of Cancer northwards * * * The New France will have as boundaries: to the West, the Pacific Ocean; to the South, the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba and the Atlantic Ocean; to the East, the northern ocean which bounds the shores of New France; to the North, the Unknown Land, adjacent to the Frozen Sea, near the North Pole." (History of New France, Vol. I.) It would be reasonable to demand for so vast a claim as this some clear, definite, and indisputable warrant. England claimed under the Venetian Cabots; France under the Florentine Verrazano. The case of England would seem to be somewhat the better, both from priority of exploration and from the fact of such exploration having actually taken place. But when both claims are intrinsically weak, it is scarcely worth while to discuss which is the stronger. The goodly land had lain dormant long enough to justify any nation stirred by colonising ambition, to cross over and wake it into life. This was precisely the view which Holland took of the matter, and she rested her case entirely on the essential invalidity of the grounds on which France and England based their pretensions.

The sixteenth century closed without seeing anything accomplished

in the shape of actual settlement. There had been sundry nibblings at the bait, nothing more. All that stood to England's record was an abortive attempt to found a colony in Virginia. The French essays were equally futile, and as a whole are characterised by Lescarbot as "vain attempts not well supported." They began with the Huguenot experiments of Ribault and Lariviere in Florida early in the century and ended with the commission given by Henry IV to the Marquis de la Roche to colonise "the lands of Canada, Labrador, Sable Island, and Norumbega (Maine.*)" This was in 1598, the year of the Treaty of Vervins¹, which assured to Henry the peaceable possession of the crown of France, the year in which that king, while himself conforming to the national religion, had issued the Edict of Nantes for the protection of the interests of his former co-religionists,—only six years before de Monts and Champlain first sighted La Heve. De la Roche's scheme, both in plan and execution, was a veritable *ne plus ultra* of colonising folly. In the commission Sable Island is mentioned among "the fertile and abundant" places over which the distinguished grantee was to exercise his jurisdiction, and accordingly the settlers taken with him by the Marquis, thirty or forty released convicts, were "settled" on the dreary sand-dunes of that "graveyard of the Atlantic."

No magician's wand ever produced more miraculous transformations than did Henry's sceptre during the years intervening between the Treaty of Vervins and the inauguration of the Acadian enterprise. Sully, his great minister, held that the true policy of the newly established kingdom lay in the development of its internal resources, especially in the recognition of agriculture as the primary basis of national prosperity. As far as he reasonably could, Henry acceded to this view. Cornfields and vineyards took the place of desolate moorlands and scrubby forests, and in conjunction with these allied industries called a new population into being. "Plough and cow,"—to employ Voltaire's phrase and practically his figure—proved themselves the true breasts from which a country should draw its riches rather than from mines like those of Mexico and Peru. Sully would have

¹ Vervins was the birthplace of Lescarbot, the historian; a fact to which our friend frequently and proudly refers.

stopped there, but Henry took a broader and more far-seeing view of things, and sent abroad for materials to stimulate the national expansion on which his heart was set. He brought into France arts, especially some which minister to the tastes of the wealthy and cultured, which in the delicate perfection of their products no nation has yet surpassed. Above all, he introduced the mulberry and the silk worm.

Naturally the established transatlantic trades in fish and fur, though not particularly favored by Sully, shared in the revival of business. The good times called for more food, and for costlier clothing and richer adornment. Each increase in the volume of the fur-trade tended to bring the continents into closer touch,—more vessels were annually plying between the eastern and western shores of the Atlantic. We have no interest in considering the reasons and motives impelling England and Holland to take up the idea of American colonisation as the seventeenth century was opening.

The French colonial settlements in North America were developments of commercial enterprise, however dependent they ultimately became on the military arm of the mother country. A trading company would naturally desire to secure for itself an area of exclusive privilege. The crown might in a general way be disposed to grant the favor, but what could be more natural than that it should insist on some reasonable *quid pro quo* for the favor it was asked to bestow? It was usually agreed that a monopoly of trade should be balanced by an accepted obligation to settle, colonise and christianise the country over which the authority of the King's lieutenant should extend. These two counterbalancing considerations might not, however, take effect simultaneously. The traders would naturally get to work as soon as they could; to found colonies and transform bands of roaming savages into settled Christian communities were works of time. At the outset the superficialities of imperial recognition and sanction was little more than a thin veneering over a solid substratum of speculation, individual or corporate.¹

¹ Lescarbot's defence of monopolies is curious: "Liberty of trade (monopoly) is a thing greatly to be favored since the king loves his subjects with the love of a father; but the cause of religion and the first inhabitants of a province (De Monts & Co.) is still more worthy of favor."

The de Monts experiment in Acadia (1604-7) takes its place in a series of enterprises, which aimed at accomplishing the ends named,—colonial settlement and traffic for gain. Its genesis can be easily traced.

Though at the end of the sixteenth century the peltry trade, as shown by the Rossignol incident, was beginning to extend itself towards the south and west, it mainly adhered to its more northerly routes. Along these no place had established so great a reputation for its trading facilities during the mid-summer months as Tadousac on the lower St. Lawrence, just where the Saguenay pours into the mighty river the outflow of Lake St. John. In 1599, a nobleman of Normandy, *Sieur de Saint Chauvin*, conceived the idea of securing for himself the trade of Tadousac by means of a royal charter with the usual franchises and obligations attached. Letters patent were duly issued and in conjunction with *Pont-Gravé*, the most energetic and successful fur-trader of the northern parts, the new business was auspiciously inaugurated. In some capacity, probably that simply of an invited guest—de Monts, the leader five years after of an expedition to Acadia, accompanied Chauvin and Pont-Gravé. De Monts was quite satisfied with this one visit to the northern seas and took back with him to France a deep-seated and invincible prejudice against the climate of the lower St. Lawrence,—a prejudice which had its effect on the direction of settlement in New France.

To carry out the bond Chauvin made an attempt at colonisation in the concrete in connection with this trip. When the time came to return to France, sixteen men were drafted off to remain for the winter at Tadousac, and test its quality as a place for all-year-round residence. The result of the experiment was not quite as disastrous as might have been expected. A few of its unfortunate victims succumbed to the piercing cold; the majority happily saved their lives by seeking warmth among the smoke and squalor of the Indian cabins. An equally successful trip to Tadousac was made by Chauvin at Port Grace in 1600, without de Monts and without any more farcical attempts at colonisation. As Chauvin and Pont-Gravé, and probably some of their silent partners were Protestants, the obligation to do

something for the moral and spiritual uplift of the Indians seems to have been waived.

Just as preparations for a third trip in 1601 were nearing completion, Chauvin died. The company broke up. Tadousac lost its chance of being the first permanent colonial settlement in New France. A recordless hiatus of two years followed.

In 1603, Aymar de Chastes, naval commander at Dieppe, succeeded in securing royal approval for a new colonising project in the direction of the St. Lawrence. De Chastes, well advanced in years, stood remarkably high in the esteem and confidence of the King. He was not a fur-trader, nor did mercenary motives of any kind influence his conduct in the matter. His patriotism and piety were equally profound. So far as the outlines of his scheme have come down to us, his aim was to reduce the element of personal aggrandisement and profit to a minimum and to magnify and exalt all the national interests involved. An ardent Catholic and a true Frenchman, it was his aim and hope "to plant the cross and the fleur-de-lis in the wilderness of New France." A wise man, as well as a zealous and patriotic one, de Chastes decided to send to the St. Lawrence a commission of expert investigators to report information on which he might proceed to perfect his plans and intelligently select a site for his colony. The men chosen for this preliminary survey were Champlain and Pont-Gravé, the former to act as explorer-in-chief; the latter as navigator, and manager of any business that might incidentally develop. This was their first meeting, as well as the primary connection of Champlain with the shores and waters with which his name will forever be identified. The latter had just returned to France from that memorable visit to the West Indies, Central America, and Vera Cruz, the particulars of which he has embodied in one of the quaintest little books of travel ever written.¹ A sailor in his youth, then a soldier fighting for Henry against the invading armies of Spain, then by a singular turn of the wheel of fortune, only a few months after he had laid down the sword with which he had been fighting the Spaniards,

¹ "Bref Discours des choses plus remarquable que Samuel Champlain de Brouage a recognees aux Indes Occidentales." This booklet lay in MS. until 1859, when an English translation was published by the Hakluyt Society. It first appeared in French in 1870 in connection with the last edition of C.'s works.

he found himself in command of one of the ships of a Spanish fleet sailing for Cuba, Vera Cruz and Panama. However modest his demeanor and however modest his relation of the wonders he had seen within the hermetically sealed boundaries of the Spanish colonies, the mere fact of his unique experiences made him famous: his name was on everybody's lips, particularly within the precincts of the court. The King was especially lavish in his compliments; he was proud that he had a subject who had seen so many strange things, and who could describe what he had seen in such a lucid and interesting manner. De Chastes was sure that he had found the man who could tell him where, and by what particular procedure, he should establish his colony, so as best to accomplish the ends he had in view.

Champlain and Pont-Gravé's tour of exploration extended from March to September, and included side-trips to Anticosti and Gaspé. The entire voyage, which had Lachine Rapids as its most westerly point, were made in Pont-Gravé's trim little brig, *La bonne Renommée*. Early in May, before the explorers were well in the river, de Chastes was gathered to his fathers. The news of his death was one of the first pieces of information picked up by the returning voyagers when they landed at Havre de Grace.

Champlain has left us an elaborate report of this voyage of exploration, to which an incidental allusion has already been made. This report demands respectful consideration not only from its connection with the name of a distinguished colonial pioneer, but from its intrinsic character as a carefully prepared record of minute and painstaking observation in a most interesting and important field of inquiry. *Des Sauvages*¹ may indeed be regarded as a valuable contribution to the stock of human knowledge. In a general way it is today quite pleasant reading,—that is, considerable portions of it—as enabling us to compare the St. Lawrence of the twentieth century with its pre-civilisation state. At the same time it is more than doubtful whether the venerable admiral, who had commissioned Champlain to investigate and report on conditions from the point of view of a proposed coloniser, would have been particularly impressed with the value and relevancy of much

¹ *Des Sauvages, or voyages of Samuel de Champlain of Brouage, made in New France in the year 1603.*

of the information so laboriously collated by his agent. The title is no misnomer. More than half of the *Journal* is taken up with matters relating to "the customs, mode of life, marriages, wars, and dwellings of the savages of Canada." Interesting and important to the ethnologist, much of this would have been of no service to de Chastes. Still less helpful to the latter in solving the problem of colonisation in Canada, would have been the reported "discoveries on the coast of Acadia, and numerous mines existing there, according to the report of the savages."

The death of de Chastes and the dissolution of his company cleared the ground for some new project of over-seas trade and colonisation. An effort was made to reorganise and recapitalise the syndicate of de Chastes before it became totally defunct, an effort favored by those who looked upon the Saint Lawrence as the great natural waterway and trade-avenue of New France. At this juncture, as if seizing a waited-for opportunity, de Monts whose name has been mentioned in connection with the first Chauvin voyage to the Saguenay and who was now at court filling the post of "Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the King's Chamber" offered a suggestion, which ere long became a reality. He laid before the King—emphasising his statement by reminiscences of his own experience—the manifest impossibility of founding a European colony in the frozen north. There stretched to the south-west of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a long line of coast, blessed with a climate equal to that of France, abounding in excellent harbors and the estuaries of large rivers, while the country lying back, and through which these rivers flow, was fertile in soil and rich in mineral resources. It was there that the explorers of New France would find the place in which to plant their colonies. Thus plausibly de Monts presented his case to the King. In addition he "proposed to the King a plan for establishing a permanent colony in the said lands over-sea without in any way drawing from his Majesty's purse." This materially helped his argument with the somewhat parsimonious monarch. But there were other obstacles in the way; out-and-out opposition from Sully; a decidedly critical attitude on the part of Champlain. As soon, however, as it was settled that the proposed undertaking of de Monts would have no claim for direct subvention from the royal ex-

chequer which it was his duty to fill and guard, Sully consented to withdraw all signs of open hostility. As for Champlain, his disinclination to withdraw from exploring work on the Saint Lawrence was partly due to the keen interest excited by his recent trip. What he had seen inspired a strong wish to see more. But his supreme interest lay far beyond the valley of the great river. Though Magellan had long since rounded Cape Horn and opened up the route to the Spice Islands, though he himself from the Isthmus had looked out on the blue Pacific, to Champlain the problem of the mysterious far-off Cathay was yet unsolved. His mind was completely obsessed,—and so probably continued to be to the end of his life—with the impression that “a northerly route to China” through the North American continent would yet be the reward of patient, persistent investigation. Believing, as he did, that the St. Lawrence held the key to this great “Asian Mystery,” the King and de Monts found it hard to divert him from it. He strongly urged that what he felt sure was the direct route to the Orient should be given another trial. Further, the proposal to transfer operations to the south by no means came at the psychological moment. He was much under the influence of information given him by the Indians at Lachine only a few months before to the effect that the last lake in the great chain was *salt*. This to Champlain’s mind clearly identified the latter with “the South Sea,” and enabled him to urge upon the King the propriety of letting slip no opportunity to gain for France this short and feasible route to China.

Champlain eventually yielded to royal solicitation, and became officially connected with the de Monts enterprise as “King’s Geographer,” but in no other capacity. Yet so strongly did the idea of a short North American waterway to the west continue to possess him, that after the Port Royal collapse and the resumption of exploring work on the St. Lawrence he defines the true object of colonies in New France to be that they might serve as a base for prosecuting researches for the passage to Cathay, “in order to facilitate commerce with the Orientals.”¹

¹ “So many voyages and discoveries without result, and attended with so much hardship and expense, have caused us French in late years to attempt a permanent settlement in those lands which we call New France in the hope of thus reaching more easily this object; since the voyage in search of the desired

If a brief digression is allowable, a somewhat familiar but most pathetic incident may be referred to in illustration of the hold which this extraordinary and almost incredible delusion had taken of Champlain's mind. When acting as lieutenant of the Canadian viceroys, he generally spent the summer months at Quebec or in explorations, but for some reason he remained in Paris during the entire year of 1612. While there he was waited on by one Nicolas Vignau, whom he had known and befriended in Canada, and who had passed the winter just preceding with a band of friendly Indians at some point near the Upper Ottawa, say between Pembroke and North Bay. From there Vignau had brought a most astonishing story, said to have been derived from an Indian settlement some distance farther away; of which story the main features were a great river flowing northward from a great lake; a great unbounded sea into which the river emptied and on whose shore lay the wreckage of an English vessel; indisputable evidence that the crew had been murdered by unfriendly Indians; all this Vignau related and repeated with a confident straightforwardness that would have deceived the very elect. As early as possible the ensuing spring, Champlain was flying over the ocean, Vignau going in another vessel, passage paid,—not so much to verify the story, but to see for himself the solution of a great geographical mystery. To make a long story short, Vignau's statements proved to be absolute fabrications. Lake, river, sea, vessel and skulls,—all were phantoms. Champlain found himself the dupe of a mendacious imposter, of one whom he himself designated an unblushing and malicious liar, and who could adduce no better justification of his conduct than the fact that he wished to return to Canada. As the matter is introduced simply for an illustrative purpose, the details of the occurrence do not call for recital. In the sequel two singular facts emerge. One is that Champlain, after having been so grievously imposed on, put to the inconvenience of two long ocean and river voyages between Honfleur and Laclaire, doomed to risk his life in canoeing among the rapids of the Ottawa and to suffer untold hardship in tramping through the wilderness, called to suffer the acute pain which one feels who has been needlessly duped, in the first place rescued the

passage commences on the other side of the ocean, and is made along the coast of that region."

scoundrel from the Indians who would have scalped him, and then on his own part granted him an unconditional pardon. The grace of Christian forgiveness was surely never more signally exemplified. The other fact illustrates both Champlain's sanguine optimism and the remarkable tenacity of an "insistent idea." In his opinion Vignau's fabrications worked out so as to contribute in a roundabout way to hasten the discovery of the true "sea." Faith in the northerly route to China was actually strengthened by the imposture of which he was the victim.¹

The accession of such a man as Champlain to his interests materially aided de Monts in his efforts to secure national recognition for his scheme. Events developed rapidly. De Chastes died in May; Champlain and de Monts returned from the St. Lawrence in September; on November 8th the King issued the memorable Commission, which conveyed to de Monts vice regal authority over "the countries, territories, coasts and confines of La Cadie from the fortieth to the forty-sixth." It is not necessary to particularise the various powers and prerogatives conferred, the various duties and obligations imposed, by this portentously solemn instrument. To an exceptional degree the Commission is pervaded by the tone of exaggeration and inflation not uncommon in official documents of the kind. The want of exact information regarding the subjects dealt with is made up for by an ample profession of it. The King represents himself as "having been long since informed of the situation of the countries and territories of La Cadie."² He also had "full confidence in the knowledge which you (de Monts) have of the character, condition, and situation of the said country of La Cadie, drawn from the different navigations, voyages and visits which you have made to these lands."³

The Commission proper contains but a single place-name, Acadia

¹ Champlain's fourth voyage is entirely devoted to the Vignau incident. Its dedication to the Marquis de Conde, Champlain's official superior, is well worth reading. It will be found following the extracts from the second voyage, published in the sequel.

² Henry's knowledge of the existence of such a place as La Cadie probably did not date back to a period earlier than the death of Champlain the preceding May.

³ De Monts had paid only one visit to New France, and then did not come nearer the limits of La Cadie than Gaspé. His record in Acadia does not read like that of a man who took with him a good "knowledge of the character, condition and situation of the country."

(La Cadie). In previous charters prominence was given to the names of the various districts placed under the grantee's jurisdiction. The reason for the distinction is quite obvious. Huge as was the block of territory granted to de Monts, the fixing of its northern boundary at the forty-sixth parallel kept out of it most of the places of note within the new-found-lands on the American coast. The shores of the Gulf were excluded except the short line from the Strait of Canso to the Isthmus of Chignecto. Southwest of the Gulf much the most outstanding geographical feature was the peninsula whose southern shore line was the "Coast of Acadia." So it fell to Acadia to give its slight coloring of locality to the imperial domain of de Monts.

Some writers, notably Rev. Edmund F. Shafter, whose annotated edition of Otis' Champlain is a standard work of great value, contend that the claim of the form *La Cadie* to primacy is completely established by the usage of the Commission and its collateral documents. It is scarcely necessary to revive a verbal controversy which has already received perhaps undue attention, but in support of the ground taken in a preceding paragraph, it may be pointed out that if this is the first appearance of the name in a public document, it is also the *last* so far as this particular form of the name is concerned; that the spelling does not occur in other writings; that while the King's professional assistants were drafting the Commission, Champlain nearly was calling the region *Arcadie*; and that from such samples of their work as have been handed down to us, the documentary draftsmen of those times approached high-water mark in eccentricity of spelling names of places.¹

The Commission from the King was followed by one from Montmorency, the Lord High Admiral of France, conferring on de Monts, with the title of Vice-Admiral, such authority as was necessary for the maintenance of his rights on the sea. This naval commission

¹Dr. Shafter somewhat disfigures Otis' excellent translation by substituting throughout *La Cadie* for the familiar English form, *Acadia*. Even if *La Cadie* were established as the original name in French, its use in an English version would seem to be decidedly archaic, objectionable and anomalous. The *Arcadie* of the old maps was known to this distinguished writer on Acadian history, but he fails to draw from the fact the correct inference. He claims for *La Cadie* a Micmac origin, but cannot trace the process of derivation decisively. His reasoning is by no means clear. He thinks that *L' Arcadie* and *L' Acadie* are identical in pronunciation. If they really were so, it surely would be a strong point in support of *L' Arcadie's* claim.

introduces new matter in the shape of two references:—one to the danger of strangers taking possession of the territory if Frenchmen should come back; the other to its abundant mineral resources.

The third in the series of official documents issued in the interest of de Monts was entitled a "Writ of Prohibition." By its terms all French subjects not members of de Monts' company were excluded from "all traffic in furs or other merchandise in the lands, regions, harbors, rivers and approaches within the extent of his rule." In other words, his jurisdiction and trading monopoly were concurrent and co-extensive. The "Writ of Prohibition" did not run north of the forty-sixth, nor south of the fortieth. De Monts and his associates as a fur-trading corporation had no special franchise where the profits of the business were surest and largest. The forty-sixth parallel bisects Cape Breton, barely grazes for a short distance the southern shore of Prince Edward Island, and by striking New Brunswick at Bay Verte and passing on through Fredericton, leaves not more than a fourth of that province to the south of it. The whole of the Gulf and the river St. Lawrence—a region that yielded nine-tenths of the fur-imports of France were outside of the bounds of the monopoly. We are not informed through whose default things got into this shape,—so fatally prejudicial to the financial welfare of the enterprise. The mistake was discovered. A remedy must be applied. That remedy might have taken the form of a boundary extension to the northward, say of two degrees. But de Monts was not particularly concerned in having committed to his care so vast an additional area, especially as it was his policy to seek a place of settlement as near "the fortieth" as possible. All that was needed was an extension of the monopoly northward. This end was deftly accomplished by inserting at the proper point in the original "Writ of Prohibition" a sentence or two, specifically including in the forbidden area, "Meramichi, the Bay Chaleur, Isle Percée, Gaspé, Tadousac, the rivers of Canada," and a number of places now incapable of identification; in short, to make assurance doubly sure, every sea and shore "from Cape Race to the fortieth." A company that was planning to establish its central seat to the south of Cape Cod had a monopoly of an important branch of trade from Anticosti to the Delaware.

A fourth official paper issued in connection with the undertaking should perhaps be mentioned. This was a Declaration, bearing date January, 1605, announcing to the Customs Department of the Kingdom, that all imports "from the Plantations of M. de Monts" should be admitted duty free, and ordering that the duty collected at a port in Normandy on twenty-two bales of beaver skins brought in by one of the company's vessels should be refunded.

A comparison of dates shows what might have resulted from the confiscations at Rossignol and at Canso in May, 1604.

De Monts was now in a position to perfect the financial details of his enterprise. As nothing could be more attractive and tempting to investors than the documents heralding its birth, no time was lost in putting the commissions, and especially the writ of prohibition, into circulation through the seaports of the Kingdom. The amount of capital required for equipment and other preparatory expenses was fixed at 6,000,000 livres, and in less than a month it was fully subscribed. De Monts possessed, or at least controlled, considerable means himself, while his co-religionists at Rochelle and other places where the Huguenot interest was strong lent him freely their support.¹ Money forthcoming, other details for the voyage and the work of settlement afterwards were speedily arranged. De Monts commands the expedition in person, as is proper when the largest territorial proprietor in the world is proceeding to take formal possession of his preserves.

He is accompanied by "a large number of gentlemen not a few of whom are of noble birth," and most of whom, presumably have stock in the venture. The religious welfare of the colonists themselves is to be conserved by clerical representatives of the two religions, while the work of christianising the natives of the woods was specially assigned to missionaries of the national church. Champlain as "King's Geographer" takes with him such professional assistants as his exploratory work may be likely to need, draftsmen, sur-

¹Lescarbot more than once says that de Monts was "partner of Messrs. Macquin and Georges, honorable merchants of Rochelle." It is not certain whether the allusion is to a standing partnership, or to a relation as common holders of stock in this enterprise. Probably the latter. Messrs. Macquin and Georges "backed" de Monts to the last.

veyors, and especially a miner, for the mineral resources of Acadia loom large among her attractions to intending investors as immigrants. Surgeons, apothecaries, "cunning workmen" in the various mechanic arts, masons and expert tillers of the soil, none are forgotten. To make up the complement there are a hundred or so ordinary laborers.

Havre de Grace was fixed on as the point of rendezvous and departure for the outgoing voyagers. Two ships are provided for the transportation of the company and its outfit. The larger one of 150 tons is for the passengers of all classes; the smaller one conveys the stores—provisions and equipment of all kinds. De Monts himself as Vice-Admiral of France is nominal commander of the former. The storeship is in charge of Pontgravé. Captain Timothy of Havre and Captain Morel of Honfleur are respectively the sailing-masters of the vessels, crazy top-heavy caravels we should call them from Champlain's pictures, but really trim, stout little brigs, all ready for the equinoctial gales which they will be called on to meet before the Banks are crossed; for they are to sail on the 7th of March. De Monts and Pontgravé agree to rendezvous at Canso—where the waters of the ocean and the gulf intermingle.

De Monts, the leader of the expedition from which so much may be expected, is a rather colorless figure on the canvas of history. The men who could have left us a portrait of him, his intimate associates and friends, Champlain and Lescarbot, have not chosen to fill in the rough outlines with the touches that reveal character. They invariably refer to their leader and friend in terms of utmost respect, but their references are entirely without meaning, so far as conveying any idea of what manner of man he was, of his sympathies, tastes, and characteristic qualities generally. From the exceeding brevity with which his sayings and doings, even in critical exigencies, are reported, the natural inference is that he was one of the most secretive and reticent of men. But a general estimate of the man is possible from various sources. Let us assume the date to be March 7th A. D. 1604. As he leads the file along the gangway of his ship he is undoubtedly a dignified and impressive figure, with the bearing of a soldier and the polish of a courtier. For years he followed

"the Helmet of Navarre;" he is now Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the King's Chamber." In religion a Calvinist, he reflects credit on his communion by exemplary purity of life at a court by no means conspicuous for its austere morality, while the fact of his confidential relations with such Catholics as De Chastes, Poutrincourt and Champlain, shows that dogma was not allowed to invade the spheres of business and friendship.

History has endorsed as essentially correct his view of the colonisation problem, namely, that the proper site for settlement was to be sought near the centre of the continental coast line, and not at its extremity among the icebergs of the north. Unlike Champlain, he never chased the *ignis fatuus* of a transcontinental route to China. On a large scale, the European colonisation of North America began just where he proposed to plant its seeds. As to recent events, he deserves credit for the energy and tact with which he has brought things to their present pass. He has organized and floated a most promising company; he has the physical elements of a good-sized colony on shipboard; he has at his back a body of capable advisers and lieutenants; he is sailing under the auspices of the mightiest prince in Europe. Of course these considerations do not absolutely guarantee a successful issue. It is the lot of human enterprises to be borne down or broken up by unexpected and irresistible catastrophes; structural defects may reveal themselves in what seem to be most carefully constructed schemes. Putting aside these improbabilities, if he now deals with the imminent problem of actual concrete colonisation as he has dealt with the successive stages of preparation for it, who can measure the vast importance of the result to follow? Up to this time, every attempt by Frenchmen to found a colony in America from Villegagnon's in Brazil to De la Roche's on Sable Island has been a ridiculous fiasco. Properly girding himself for the effort, de Monts has a chance to break this monotonous record of disappointment and disaster; to wipe away the reproach of France, to win a continent for the fleur-de-lis.

To us the majority of "the large number of gentlemen" who are to sail with de Monts are mere names. They are without antecedent records; their exact connection with the enterprise is for the most

part unknown; of their incidental experiences in Acadia scarcely anything has been handed down.¹

Of the others whose names have acquired some historical significance, the outstanding figure is the incomparable Champlain. His relation to the enterprise with which his name is more prominently identified than any other has been quite misrepresented in some of the standard biographies. He was not "Admiral of the Fleet," nor "Chief Pilot of the Expedition," nor "the person chosen to conduct the Company over." In fact he had neither interest in the business nor share in the management of the undertaking. He was going as the friend and specially invited guest of de Monts, and at the same time as "King's Geographer," charged with the direction and oversight of the exploring work of the expedition. He sought to the best of his ability as opportunity offered to promote the welfare of the enterprise, but in an unofficial way, by counsel and by personal service rather than by the assumption of authority which did not belong to him. Never for a moment did he forget to pay to de Monts and the lieutenants who might be acting for him the respect due to official station. But he lived in his own world. His journals disclose most clearly what interests were uppermost in his mind. To discover, to explore, to investigate and thus in ever widening circles to extend the boundaries of knowledge, these represent to Champlain the very acme of human achievement. He magnifies the office that commits such duties to his care, and the more painful and laborious these are, the greater pleasure does he take in their discharge. Like all true explorers he is a genuine enthusiast. Nothing can be more admirably true to fact than Parkman's description, the accuracy of which Champlain's appreciative, not to say eulogistic biographer, Dionne, endorses by reproducing: "By instinct and tem-

¹ D'Orville, Beaumont, La Motte Bourlioll, Boulay, Saurin, De Genestou, Foulgeré de Vitré. These all presumably belonged to the lesser noblesse. D'Orville was a man of influence. Before leaving for France in 1605 de Monts offered him the governorship at Port Royal. Only partially recovered from an attack of scurvy, he was compelled to decline, and sailed for home with de Monts. With the exception of Champlain and Champdoré, Foulgeré de Vitré was the only "gentleman" who stuck to the expedition from start to finish. Between the gentry and the artisans were the representatives of the professions. Pere Aubrey—no other clergyman's name is preserved—the surgeons (names unknown) and the miner Master Simon.

perament he was more impelled to the adventurous toils of exploration than to the duller task of building colonies. The profits of trade had value in his eyes only as a means to these ends, and settlements were important chiefly as a base of discovery."

Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, a baron of the Kingdom and ranking nobleman of the company, like Champlain, forms a class by himself. He is a Catholic gentleman of wealth as well as distinction, travelling at his own costs and charges, with a retinue of servants to minister to his comfort and some armed retainers to provide for his security. The object of his visit is not so much to take a sea-voyage or survey a new world, as to seek in the American wilderness some tract of mingled land and water, of alternating forest and meadow, which without too much trouble he can convert into a family demesne, a place of refuge from the distractions which he feels sure will soon recur in France. The happy halcyon days that are passing are but breeders of storms. "Such are the stuff that dreams are made of." It fell to the lot of the estimable nobleman to find a spot exactly to his liking, by nature fulfilling every requisite of his fancy; to acquire the proprietorship without the slightest difficulty; to fail after laborious effort and the suffering of much hardship and loss to advance it beyond the most elementary stage of development; and then, recrossing the ocean, to meet a death of violence in the very country from whose ills he had tried so hard to provide a place of refuge. Though never honored with a public celebration, he may at least fairly dispute with de Monts the right to be regarded as the founder of Port Royal.

Unlike Champlain and Poutrincourt, Pontgravé, more than once referred to already, had close business and financial connection with the de Monts syndicate and enterprise. The proper designation of this energetic trader and adventurous navigator, some reference to whose activities has already been made, was Francois Gragé, Sieur du Pont. Pontgravé, the appellation always used by Champlain, is an anomalous compound of the surname Gragé—the son is called simply Robert Gragé—and the titular Pont. Lescarbot invariably uses one of the equivalents Sieur du Pont, Captain du Pont, or

du Pont. Pontgravé smacks of familiarity; Sieur du Pont is formal and respectful. Pontgravé was a Protestant, but did not represent the ascetic type of Puritan piety. Somewhat ungovernable in temper and quite unreasonable in his personal prejudices, he possessed not only keen business instincts, but much practical sagacity. Though they were polar opposites in temperament, tastes and most elements of character, Champlain and he were inseparable companions and most confidential friends for nearly thirty years. They were mutually complementary. Pontgravé "was entrusted with the chief management of the trade carried on in Canada with the Indians by the various companies and viceroys under Champlain's lieutenantancy from 1608 to 1629." He influentially aided in the founding of Quebec.¹

The last of de Mont's captains to be mentioned is Champdoré—Pierre Angibaut dit Champdoré—the shorter form being invariably used by both Champlain and Lescarbot. He filled a dual office, and is known as the pilot-carpenter. Though nothing is ascertainable regarding his previous history, the fact that he is coming over to act as helmsman along the coasts of Acadia, suggests that he had been in transatlantic waters before. For some reason he was by no means *persona grata* to Champlain and Pontgravé. De Monts appears to have esteemed him, and Lescarbot certainly did, for he wrote an ode in his honor, with elegant classical allusions to Palinurus and other famous pilots of antiquity.

¹ Champlain always, when designating his home or domicile, refers to him as "Pontgravé of St. Malo"; Lescarbot in the same reference as "Sieur du Pont of Honfleur." That Champlain should be wrong on such a point as this is quite inconceivable, and yet in his own writings numerous incidental allusions seem to sustain Lescarbot in his use of Honfleur. It was there that messengers and messengers were sent to him. His ships wintered there. He and Champlain made nearly twenty joint voyages to and from Canada. Honfleur was almost invariably their port of embarkation and landing. So close was the connection between Honfleur and Canada that one of the histories states that Quebec was founded by colonists from Honfleur. The difficulty can be pretty satisfactorily adjusted by supposing that Pontgravé was born at St. Malo, or started out from there, but made Honfleur his business centre. Though St. Malo was and indeed still is—a famous breeding place of sailors, Honfleur is the more convenient port for the Atlantic trade. Havre has left both far behind as an emporium of commerce.

VOYAGES AND PRELIMINARY EXPLORATIONS.

March-July, 1604.

"In this book I wish to tell the story of an enterprise at once the most valiant and the least assisted of all that we French have attempted in the colonisation of new lands across the sea." *Lescarbot*.

Early in March and within a few days of each other, de Monts and Pontgravé set sail for New France. For some reason as the passenger-ship of de Monts was crossing the Banks, a decided deviation towards the south was given to her course—so that she eventually made land at La Have, instead of in the vicinity of Canso, the appointed rendezvous. Coupled with the agreement to come together at Canso was an understanding that if for any reason the captain first arriving should proceed farther along the coast, he should take care to inform the second comer by some conspicuously displayed mark or signal—"some sort of cross or a letter tied to a tree." Now de Monts, by chance or design, has cut Canso out of the calculation altogether.

Lescarbot attributes the southerly deviation to necessity imposed by icebergs blocking the customary northerly route. Others assign as a cause unskilful navigation on the part of Timothy and his mates. Perhaps bad weather had something to do with it. Champlain acknowledges distinctly the agreement to meet at Canso, and then simply adds: "But after we were in mid-ocean, *Sieur de Monts* changed his plan and directed his course towards Port de Mouton, it being more southerly and also more favorable for landing than Canso." If the fact be as stated, de Monts broke faith, and displayed a singular lack of common sense. The reasons assigned for the change of plan are almost grotesquely absurd.

As a locality, a physical entity, the place soon to be known as Port Mouton undoubtedly existed, but even in that sense de Monts knew nothing of it, or of special landing facilities which it offered. To offer its superior landing facilities as a reason for violating a positive agreement is a complex of improbability and impossibility.

In handling the awkward situation growing out of the change of course de Monts blundered somewhat; the statement of Champlain makes him responsible for creating it.

In all probability the icebergs referred to by Lescarbot were primarily accountable for the southern deflection, but there may have been some bad reckoning, too. Champlain's fault was probably one of memory. The journal which contains the record of the voyage was not published until 1613. His memoranda at that particular point may have been imperfect. The main fact remembered was that they sighted land at La Have instead of Canso. The unpleasant consequences resulting from the circumstances of the ship's making land so far to the south-west did not particularly distress him. In fact it gave him the pleasure of a three weeks' exploring tour, while de Monts and Pontgravé were fretting and fuming in their efforts to find one another, and while the general company was broiling on the beach at Port Mouton. He not improbably filled up a lacuna in his manuscript by inserting something of which de Monts might well be proud.

Cape la Have¹ (Hève) was sighted and christened on May 8th. The next day or two were spent in exploring the harbors near the mouth of the noble river which debouches near it. About the same date, Pontgravé, who had crossed safely and had stopped for a few days at English-Harbor (Louisburg) to repair his boats, was bearing up from Cape Breton to Canso. De Monts, who so far does not seem to have given him a thought, proceeded to increase the distance between them by sailing westward. On the 12th he entered a fine river-harbor, where much to his surprise, and gratification, too, no doubt, he found Captain Jules Fritot *dit* Rossignol of Havre de Grace, trading in furs "in defiance of the King's Prohibition." Thus caught in *flagrante delicto* vessel and cargo were promptly laid hands on and confiscated.² As first fruits of the enterprise, they, together with Captain Fritot, were triumphantly attached to the expedition and accompanied it in all its movements during the summer. The

¹ From Cap la Hève on the coast of France.

² This seizure and confiscation may have been technically justifiable. It was straining a point, however, in favor of strictness, to assume Rossignol's knowledge of "the Writ of Prohibition."

captain, vessel and furs were sent to France from St. Croix in August. Rossignol still lingers with us as the name of our largest lake; as the designation of the harbor and river flowing into it, it has long since been replaced by Liverpool and Mersey.

Yet another move towards the west. On the following day they arrived at "a very fine harbor called Port au Mouton,"³ where they halted and disembarked. The company, or the main portion of it, remained at Port Mouton from April 13th to May 19th, in absolute idleness, consuming its own remaining stock of provisions, and saved from starvation only by the opportune supplies on Fritot's vessel. De Monts had at length become impressed with the importance of getting in contact with Pontgravé and the storeship, or of at least ascertaining where they were.

A shallop, with one or two trusty men and some Indians as guides, was despatched north-eastward along "the coast of Acadia" to find Pontgravé or pick up some information regarding him. Shortly after Champlain was sent, or was permitted to go,—nothing delighted him like an exploring mission—on a trip along the coast towards and beyond Cape Sable to find "harbors suitable for the secure reception of our vessel." Leaving "the King's Geographer" to initiate his Acadian coastal explorations in a little barque of eight tons, with Ralleau, de Monts' secretary, as his right-hand man, and a crew of ten stout fellows, we must at last try to get on the track of Pontgravé and his storeship.

When last heard from early in May, Captain Morel, who had made land just about where he expected to, was beating up from Cape Breton to Canso. In a couple of days the desired haven was

³ The proper form was Port du (not au) Mouton, generally abbreviated into Port Mouton. The words quoted are from Champlain and are in keeping with the lapse of memory referred to in connection with the change of direction which took place on the voyage. They erroneously imply that the place bore the name prior to the arrival of the expedition. Lescarbot hands down some interesting information regarding the helpmeet of the unfortunate sheep whose drowning gave Port Mouton its name. The surviving ewe was living and flourishing at Port Royal towards the spring of 1607, but probably went to the shambles when the colony broke up in the summer of that year. The number of shearings, taken in connection with dates, establishes complete identification. Writing of affairs in Port Royal during the winter of his residence there, (1606) Lescarbot says: "We had only one sheep but she throve well and the second crop of wool was valued in France at two cents a pound more than the first."

reached, and every eye was strained to catch a glimpse, if not of the big vessel of de Monts, at least of the signal-mark, which would indicate whither she had sailed. Every near by cove and harbor was carefully inspected and scrutinised without result. Finding neither vessel, nor "cross or letter tied to a tree," Pontgravé could only wait and wonder. He could scarcely believe that starting three days late, his slower and more heavily laden vessel, had really out-sailed Captain Timothy's clipper ship, but she must have done so; else there would be a sign or mark, conspicuously displayed, to tell him of her arrival and whither she had gone. From day to day he waited but waited in vain. At length he decided to creep slowly along the coast in the hope that something might turn up to solve the mystery. Somewhere in the neighborhood of Liscomb he met the shallop sent by de Monts to search for him. The boat took back the news to Port Mouton. Rossignol's vessel was hurried off to Liscomb for the stores; the process of transferring cargo was quickly gone through with; Pontgravé reversed his course and was off for Tadousac. On passing by Canso—or according to some accounts at an earlier stage—Pontgravé seized four fur-laden vessels belonging to Basque captains from St. Jean de Luz under the shadow of the Pyrenees. In the end the company paid dearly for these summary confiscations.

De Monts was at length ready for taking up definitely the matter of a site for his colony. But he had to champ the bit a little longer. Champlain, sent to seek on the western shore a suitable berth for the larger vessel, with proper surroundings for the company on land, had not yet returned, though nearly three weeks away. Confessedly the "King's Geographer," intoxicated by the delightful novelty of the task assigned him, had not been in much of a hurry. This is his own statement of the case: "Sieur de Monts was awaiting us from day to day, thinking only of our long stay, and whether some accident had not befallen us." Lescarbot intimates that the situation had become so acute that "they thought about leaving him behind."

Happily before this thought matured into reality Champlain got back, reporting that he had found on the shores of St. Mary's Bay

—as regarding both water and land—the very place desired for a brief settlement of the colony, while a chosen staff of experts should prosecute further researches in a small craft adapted for entering the lesser harbors and following more closely the sinuosities of the coast. Champlain's description of this preliminary exploration from Port Mouton to St. Mary's Bay is admirable in its clearness and simplicity. Those unlighted, uncharted shores had no terror for him. Everything was new, novel, enchanting. Beyond Sable, he was unquestionably the first European explorer. Scattering names profusely as he threaded his way along, naturally some of these failed to take root; others survive, Cape Negro, Cape Fourchú, Long Island, Petit Passage, and Saint Mary's Bay. The natural history, as a matter of course, takes its coloring from the environment," sea wolves" (seals) and such an abundance of birds of different sorts that one could not imagine it had he not seen them."¹

"The whole of New France being at length assembled on two ships, they weighed anchor from Port Mouton to pass the time before the winter in exploring the country as far as they could."

The situation as thus quaintly depicted by Lescarbot is not without a touch of the morally sublime, in the contrast suggested between the end proposed, the colonisation of half a continent, and the insignificant instrumentality attempting its accomplishment.

For the third time within a month Champlain is now about to traverse the most dangerous of our coasts, a coast not robbed of its terrors by the appliances of modern nautical science and art. The vessels conveying the company ran safely up the course past Cape Sable, the Tuskets, and Cape Fourchú. In good time they made St. Mary's Bay, which Champlain had reported as "a suitable place to remain in until we should be able to find one more advantageous." Something, however, occurred on the way, which might easily have developed into a serious, and indeed disastrous, accident.

Smitten with the multiplicity and variety of bird-life seen on his former trips, Champlain had thrown out to his fellow gentry on

¹ "Penguins, cormorants, geese, ducks, bustards, sea-parrots, snipes, vultures, gulls, sea-larks, herons, sea-gulls, curlews, divers, ospreys, ravens, cranes, and other sorts with which I was not acquainted."

board anticipatory hints as to what they might expect to see. All were agog with eager expectation. Unfortunately their course was not taking them very near the islands where, according to Champlain, the phenomenon of variegated plumage might be seen at its best. The curiosity of de Monts got the better of his judgment. He was seized with an irresistible desire to see "Penguin Island" and to feast his eyes on the display of color. The small shallop was called into requisition, and with Champlain, Poutrincourt and "several other noblemen," the leader set out on a side-trip to Penguin Island. The result was not satisfactory. "Penguin Island, where we had previously killed with sticks a large number of these birds, being somewhat distant from our ship, it was beyond our power to reach it, and still less to reach our vessel." Happily the shallop found shelter in the lee of another small island, where they "killed some river-birds which were very acceptable." Creeping along the coast, they ultimately reached St. Mary's Bay. "Our company," says Champlain, "was very anxious about us for two days, fearing lest some misfortune had befallen us; but when they saw us all safe, they were all rejoiced."

At this point, it may be proper to notice that de Monts has proceeded so far with his enterprise, without indicating, even approximately, where on his long coast line, he is planning to locate his colony. Evidently he is leaving the site an "open question," to be answered only after actual exploration. As to what are to be regarded as the prime requisites for a central nucleus of settlement, the general conditions which are to determine the eligibility of a proposed site, we are equally without information. A certain amount of inference can be drawn from the actual course of events. From the point where the forty-sixth parallel strikes the eastern coast of what is now New Brunswick clear round to the Bay of Fundy, the shore-line of his grant has been either passed by, or directly traversed, without the question of a site for permanent settlement being so much as raised, except perhaps in the case of the terminal point reached, Mary's Bay. It is a fairly plain inference from present developments that the home of the colony is expected to be sought,

either on the Bay of Fundy, or on the coast beyond down to the limit of the patent at the fortieth.

We shall find de Monts at a later period evincing, and most vigorously expressing, a desire to plant himself as far south as possible consistent with his rights. It is not unreasonable, however, to conclude that at present he has some expectation of finding what he is looking for on one side or other of that great arm of the sea to which he is about to give the name *la Baie Française*. An exploration of the coasts of that bay is naturally the next step in order.

On the eve of the setting out of the exploring party from St. Mary's Bay to the Bay of Fundy, an incident occurred at the former place, which is treated at some length by Champlain and Lescarbot, particularly the latter, and should perhaps be referred to here. The Rev. Father Nicholas Aubrey was one of the Catholic clergymen connected with the de Monts' expedition. Having gone into the woods to look for his sword, which he had dropped, he lost his way and could not find the vessel. For seventeen days he wandered aimlessly about on Digby Neck, subsisting on sorrel and wild berries. Seeing a fishing boat in the offing, the poor skeleton retained sufficient strength to wave his hat on the end of a pole and thus secured recognition and recovery. Slafter's annotation of Champlain's account, including as it does, references to Lescarbot's is somewhat interesting.¹ Evidently Father Aubrey was one of the pugnacious controversialists whose disputes were so little to Champlain's liking. Out of the whole clerical staff of the expedition, his is the only name that has been handed down.

¹ "Nicholas Aubrey, a young Parisian of good family, *un certain homme d'Eglise*, as Lescarbot says, probably not long in holy orders, had undertaken this voyage with de Monts, to gratify his desire to see the New World, though quite against the wishes of his friends, who had sent in vain to Honfleur to prevent his embarkation. After the search made by de Monts, with the sounding of trumpets and discharge of cannon, they left St. Mary's Bay, having given up all expectation of his recovery. Some three weeks afterwards an expedition was sent out (from Saint Croix) to St. Mary's Bay, conducted by de Champdoré, an experienced pilot, with a mineralogist, to search for silver and iron ore. While some of the party were on a fishing excursion, they rescued him as stated in the text. The safe return of the young and too venturesome ecclesiastic gave great relief to de Monts, as Lescarbot says that a Protestant was charged with having killed him, because they sometimes quarrelled about their religion." Slafter locates Aubrey at the time of his rescue as "on the western side of Digby Neck, at its southern extremity near the Petit Passage."

In the appendix to this chapter will be found Champlain's account of the discovery of Port Royal Basin, to which charming sheet of land-locked water he claims the credit of having given the fine name which it bore throughout the century of Acadian history. This claim, however, is one of not a few vexed questions in the nomenclature of Acadia. Lescarbot vigorously, not to say indignantly, challenges it: "Not by the choice of Champlain as he boasts in his accounts of his voyages, but of that of M. de Monts, the King's lieutenant." Parkman, without citing authority, gives the credit to Poutrincourt, an ascription, which could it be substantiated, would certainly be recognised to be in accordance with the fitness of things. De Monts was never much in love with Port Royal, never lived there, made repeated efforts to move his colony away from it, and did not feel his generosity overtaken in making a free gift of it to Poutrincourt. Champlain's appreciation was languid in comparison with Poutrincourt's enthusiastic and passionate admiration.¹

Port Royal having been duly examined, the explorers dropped out into the Bay of Fundy again, and heading north-east set out to see if they "could not find the copper mine which was discovered last year." The question of selecting a permanent site for the colony now temporarily encamped and eating the bread of idleness at St. Mary's Bay is waived in favor of the more important one of the recently discovered copper mine.

The previous summer when cruising the Laurentian region in the interests of De Chastes, Champlain had explored the coasts of Gaspé. While there he had fallen in with one Captain Jules Prevert of St. Malo, who indeed is represented in some of the books as having been like himself in De Chastes' employ. Prevert had just returned, or claimed to have just returned, from a southerly trip to the Bay of St. Lawrence (Straits of Northumberland), where he had picked up some remarkable information from the Indians of that quarter. So far as this related to the Gougou, an altogether hideous, impossible, man-devouring monster near the Miramichi, or to the Armachi-

¹ As a matter of fact the name was not a new one in North America, it had been given a half century before by one of the Huguenot colonisers to a port in Florida, to which it is still attached.

quois Indians beyond the Kennebec, misshapen travesties of men, with "knees extending half a foot above their heads,"—the fact being that the Armachiquois physique was much superior to that of the eastern redmen—it does not concern our narrative in particular, though it naturally excites surprise and regret to find so truly admirable a man as Champlain displaying such unconscionable credulity. Slaughter offers the apology that those events belonged to an age less critical than ours. Very true, yet it would be difficult to find a keener blade of sarcasm than that with which Champlain's own contemporary, Lescarbot, dissects these incredibilities.

Probably had the Gougou or the Armachiquois stood by themselves, Champlain would have recognised and rejected them as obvious fabrications, but Prevert artfully introduced them in company with something eminently credible, a magnificent deposit—a veritable mountain—of pure copper. This was the copper mine to find which de Monts and Champlain were now sailing up the Bay of Fundy.

The various references to it scattered through the Champlain writings, when pieced together, yield the following ridiculous story, of which, apart from the record of Champlain's own activities, the first sentence alone embodies even probable truth. When Prevert was with his vessel in the Bay of St. Lawrence (the Straits of Northumberland) he was shown by certain Indians some specimens of copper ore picked up on the shores of a great bay lying at no great distance to the south. Impressed with the character of the specimens and recognising the importance of the mining industry, he asked the Indians to take him to see the deposit. The redmen hesitated from fear that they would be attacked by their deadly foes, the Armachiquois, whose habitat was the Massachusetts coast between Saco and Cape Cod. When assured of protection they took Prevert, partly by land and partly by water, to see the spot where nature had deposited this vast reserve of national wealth. "The half had not been told." Guided by the savages, he found himself at the mine, "a very high mountain, extending somewhat seaward, glittering brightly in the sunlight." At the foot of the mountain, too, there was at low water a large quantity of bits of copper such as showed us." Three or four leagues farther on "one finds another mine, and

in a southerly direction there is a mountain of pigment with which the savages paint themselves." So in substance Prevert to Champlain at Gaspe. Champlain accepted the story and is now proceeding to act upon it.

The data supplied by Prevert for the localisation of the precious deposits were far from precise, yet to the explorers they seemed sufficient. The object of their search was about to be found somewhere on the upper waters of the Great Bay, whose incoming tides were waiting to sweep their little barque along. Besides, "a very high mountain, extending somewhat seaward and glittering in the sunlight" is too conspicuous a phenomenon to be easily missed. Champdoré was ordered to do his best at the helm, and the boat was soon opposite the bifurcation of the Bay at Cape Chignecto. Crossing to the northern side of the southern arm, they soon reached a harbor where "they (we) supposed the copper mine was, which a certain Prevert of St. Malo had discovered by aid of the savages of the country." To that harbor—as it turned out somewhat on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle—they gave the name of Port des Mines.¹

Champlain's account of what happened will be found in the appendix. It bears obviously the marks of a perplexed mind. They landed to see the mines which Prevert had reported, but could not find them. No resemblance could be traced between the harbor described by the St. Malo captain and the one lying before their eyes. Though in such results there would seem to be the best of grounds for disappointment and regret, Champlain is careful not to over-emphasise what is unsatisfactory in the situation. There are two obvious alternatives, to assume either that Prevert is an impostor outright, or that their search for his mine has been carried on in the wrong quarter. Champlain does not directly accept or reject either. His mind is in a state of unstable equilibrium. He draws from existing circumstances the inference that Prevert himself had not been at the mine at all, but had simply reported information derived from

¹ *Mines* gave its name to the channel with which it is connected and which was subsequently extended to the large basin beyond and a part of the country on its shores. Murdock makes the curious mistake of representing de Monts and Champlain as visiting Horton on this trip.

two or three of his men who had accompanied the savages. This is simply to saddle his fellow-captain with the guilt of an additional lie. Then to abate the sense of disappointment, much importance is attached to the fact, attested to by the mineralogist, Master Simon, that the mines were found "of what seemed to be copper, very good, though it was not native copper." Perhaps out of this grew the particular attention paid by Champlain to the hydrography of Port des Mines, and, after all, it might prove worthy of its name. Events, however, will show that Prevert's mine has taken a deep hold on the great explorer's imagination. The process of disillusionment will be slow.

On the 20th of May, the party dropped down the channel to Cape Chignecto "to seek a place adapted for a permanent stay, in order to lose no time, purposing afterwards to return, and see if they (we) could discover the mine of pure copper which Prevert's men had found by aid of the savages." Although the possibilities of Port des Mines were evidently regarded as not yet exhausted, a day or two's sailing seems to have introduced an entirely new view of the situation. At a point some six or seven miles east of Cape Chignecto, Chignecto Bay was crossed, preparatory to a general westerly exploration of the northern shore of the Great Bay itself. Why this unnecessary deviation? Why did they not save time by sailing across directly from Cape Chignecto to the southern coast of New Brunswick? Champlain answers these questions. It was somewhere near the point where the course taken across Chignecto Bay brought them to its northern side that "they (we) thought the copper mine was, of which we have already spoken." That is to say, the mine which yesterday they were seeking at Advocate Harbor is today thought to be on the southern coast of New Brunswick. The reason for the change of view is given: "There are there two rivers, the one (the Cumberland Basin) coming from the direction of Cape Breton and the other (the Petitcodiac) from Gaspé." It would appear that in the description of his copper mountain, Prevert had referred to the confluence in its vicinity of two rivers of considerable size. The absence of this phenomenon at Port des Mines had perhaps perplexed Champlain; its presence here suggests a new site for the

mine. The thought, however, was not acted on. Turning the prow of their barque westward, the explorers sailed down the bay to discover two days afterwards a noble river, which entered on the day of St. John the Baptist, they appropriately named St. John.

Champlain honors the St. John with an excellent map, but his accompanying description is brief. He notices the river as the largest and deepest he had yet seen and as "dangerous if one does not observe carefully certain points and rocks on the two sides;" also as "narrow at its entrance, and then becoming broader." The "reversible falls" beyond which his explorations did not extend, are described, though not with minute accuracy. As if in reparation for the wrong done to a great river by not visiting its upper reaches, he quotes a glowing description of the same from a report by subsequent explorers.

SAINT CROIX.

Leaving the St. John as soon as Champlain had completed his routine surveys, and resuming their course to the westward, de Monts and his party soon found themselves among the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, amazed at their number and charmed with their beauty. An event of great moment to the expedition is impending.

The feverish anxiety for the discovery of Prevert's mine has, at least temporarily, subsided. The islands, though numerous and beautiful, do not present phenomena especially appealing to the scientific investigator. The surveys at Port des Mines and the St. John have been utterly without fruit so far as the suggestion of a site is concerned, while Port Royal, whose claims might demand some consideration, has been handed over to Poutrincourt as his personal domain. Every league sailed to the westward from this point will take the commission of explorers just so much farther away from the company waiting at St. Mary's Bay. Mid-summer is at hand. Such considerations may have variously affected and impressed the leaders, de Monts and Champlain, but they agreed that a practical grappling with the problem entrusted to them for

solution could not be postponed with safety. To go backwards did not seem feasible; to go forwards was at best risky. It was decided to accept as a site the most advantageous situation offering itself on the shores of Passamaquoddy Bay and its connected streams.

By this time the barque, having threaded its course among the islands, had entered the principal river emptying into the bay, the "River of the Étechemins." An island of six or seven acres in the midchannel of this fine river arrested attention. Not only because it was an island—French colonial projectors had a liking for islands as sites for settlement¹—but because of special features strongly recommending it as a place for the encampment of the colony. Closer examination ratified first impressions, and not only without misgiving, but with the most confident assurance of a happy issue, de Monts and Champlain selected St. Croix Island² as the site for the initial experiment of Acadian colonisation.

Champlain describes St. Croix Island, now to be the one spot in New France under civilised occupation, as "having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one small place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other useful articles. There is another place affording shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons but it is dry at low tide." The journalist's reasons for the selection of St. Croix in anticipation of rebuttal of certain criticisms pronounced upon it will be given later. "Not finding any place more suitable than this island," de Monts and Champlain at once built a barricade and planted their cannon on "a little islet" near the main island. Then the barque was despatched to St. Mary's Bay to notify the company there that the vexed question had been settled, and that no time should be lost in coming over. No time was lost; vessels were prompt in arriving; the men quick in disembarking.

¹ e. g. Sable Island, Anticosti, the Magdalen Islands. Champlain strongly urged that the colony at Hochelaga should be established on St. Helen's Island rather than on the magnificent slope now occupied by Montreal.

² Champlain gives de Monts credit for the name. Lescarbot says that it was suggested by streams flowing into the main river in such a way as to form the semblance of a cross. To the compiler it appears strange that the Huguenot de Monts should have suggested the name at all, and still stranger that any one influenced by the supposed resemblance should have prefixed the epithet "holy."

A brief paraphrase of Champlain's lively description of what followed the junction thus effected will suffice. "Building houses for an abode" was of course a prime necessity. "The men began to gather together by fives and sixes, each according to his desire. They set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods for timber, to frame the timber, to carry stones and earth as necessity required." *Sieur de Monts* allowed Champlain "to determine the arrangement of the settlement," but himself determined the place for the storehouse and (apparently) the plan of his own house. "The work went on vigorously and without cessation." Champlain and *Sieur d'Orville* co-operated in house-building, and the former was in a position to grant *de Monts* the use of his before *de Monts'* own was finished.

At this point we are kept in the dark for a week or so as to how affairs are progressing at *St. Croix*. The "insistent idea" reasserts itself. Champlain with nine sailors and "a savage named *Messamouet*," is off "to ascertain where the mine of pure copper was which we have searched for so much." *Messamouet* asserted that "he knew the place very well." We are asked to believe that Champlain was prepared to waste his time on a *Malicete* Indian living on the *Saint Croix*, who professed to know all about a mine situated on *Minas* or *Chignecto Channel*, and to which the men of a *St. Malo* captain had been guided by some *Micmacs* from, say, *Bay Verte* or *Shediac*. The report of this trip with *Messamouet* will be found in the appendix. When he has read it, the reader will be surprised to learn that "the mine of pure copper" is destined to make yet another appearance in this sketch.

The last week in August, Champlain returned from this bootless errand, just in time to say farewell to *Poutrincourt* and *Railleau*, the secretary of *de Monts*, who were about to take ship for France. *De Monts'* navy was now limited to shallops, longboats, pataches, and barques. The colonists at *St. Croix* realised when the vessel was out of sight that they were alone, and cut off from all possibility of communication with the old world until the following summer.

From the second of September to the second of October *Saint Croix Island* saw nothing of Champlain. The King's Geographer was off on the King's business, conducting an out-of-season and

unnecessary exploration of the coast of Norombega (Maine), the only extant memorial of which is the name Mount Desert. He had been back at St. Croix but a few days when—if his date is correct—dread winter gave signs of his approach.¹ Anyway “winter came upon us sooner than expected and prevented us from doing many things which we proposed.” Perhaps among the many things thus prevented, so elementary a necessity as a frost-proof cellar may be included.

There is now but one opinion as to the choice of St. Croix Island as the locality for settlement. It was singularly infelicitous, and from every point of view it is hard to be accounted for, to be placed indeed among occurrences which become the more inexplicable, the more they are inquired into. The island was without spring or brook. The original growth of timber was scant and scrubby, and the larger part of it had been used up in the construction of the buildings. Access to the shore for wood and water was for months prevented by crunching ice-cakes borne up and down by the rising and falling tide. The sufferings entailed on the imprisoned colonists were accentuated by an extremely low temperature. In the absence of thermometrical records, the meteorological data handed down by Champlain do not enable us to determine just how exceptional was the cold of this winter of horrors. It was at any rate what is significantly called “an old-fashioned winter,” coming early and staying late, and throughout its course holding everything firm in its icy grasp. As the temperature lowers down and down below zero, the natural cry of physical nature is for warmer clothing, for better shelter, for more fuel, for heartier food. Such cries the poor colonists at St. Croix sent forth in vain.

Whom shall history hold responsible for a deliberate act of judgment that involved at least the possibility, and to a degree the certainty, of such unpleasant consequences? Technically, de Monts and Champlain of course. But there may be—and undoubtedly are—mitigating circumstances. The following is Champlain's statement

¹ Champlain gives October 6th as the date of the first snow. As he is often an exact month out in his dates, probably the event should be assigned to November 6th.

of reasons determining the selection of St. Croix: "Vessels can pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time, and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith."

It will be seen that the considerations here presented by Champlain are general in their character. They relate to the anticipated effect of the choice on the main objects of the enterprise, rather than on the personal welfare of the individual colonists. Even for the purposes for which they are urged they are almost absurdly weak and inconclusive. That an insignificant sandy islet like St. Croix should be regarded as a strategic point for missionary effort excites wonder. The poor suffering fellows in the hastily constructed habitations did not need cannon to protect them. Their cry was for the ordinary comforts of life.

Champlain puts the blame—and all must admit that there is some force in his representation—almost entirely on the climate of Passamaquoddy Bay. "It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for on arriving here in summer, everything is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country and the many varieties of good fish that are found there. There are six months of winter in this country."

The plea implied in this quaint, pathetic statement may be in part allowed. De Monts and Champlain were experimenting in a new country where they had no meteorological records to depend on. No reasonable blame attaches to them for miscalculating the average climatic difference between the St. Lawrence River region and the northern part of the territory patented to de Monts, to the advantage of the latter. Any deduction that can be made from an egregious blunder in consequence of the exceptional severity of that particular winter, ought to be cheerfully allowed. Still de Monts should have

reflected that after obtaining a grant extending to the fortieth, he was now planting his colony on his extreme northerly limit, the forty-sixth.

A special event or incident of the winter at St. Croix must now be mentioned in order that justice may be done to the memory of de Monts and Champlain. Of all diseases that ever afflicted and terrorised humanity on a large scale, scurvy is now perhaps the least common and the least dreaded. It has become practically obsolete, having been found amenable for both prevention and cure, to the simplest of prescriptions, fresh vegetables in abundance, with lime juice as an equally efficacious substitute. But for several hundred years following the opening up of the great oceans to navigation, it was the terror and plague of all companies and crews sailing over-seas in the interests of commerce, colonisation or science. We read of its ravages in the earliest of Hakluyt's "Early Voyages"; it lingers in books of travel down to "Two Years Before the Mast."

Such was the enemy that shortly after midwinter, 1605, quietly stole into the encampment at the Isle St. Croix, only to find too ready victims in bodies, which apart from the fatal predisposition caused by the absence of fresh vegetables from the habitation menu, had been rendered emaciated and anaemic by the general conditions of privation and discomfort. The scourge exacted a fearful toll of death, the statistics of which have been carefully preserved in substantial agreement by Champlain and Lescarbot. According to the former there died in the course of three months "thirty-five out of a company of seventy-nine with twenty more barely escaping with their lives." Lescarbot makes the case a little worse: "Thirty-six dead; from thirty-six to forty ill, but recovered." De Monts and Champlain, with apparently a majority of the other leading men, escaped even seizure. Those of the latter, who were stricken but not fatally, returned to France at the first opportunity, and saw Acadia no more. One of the Catholic missionaries was at Port Royal a year later. All other clergymen of both communions are believed to have been swept away, though possibly one or two survived to return home the ensuing summer. The ranks of the professionals were sadly thinned.

Of "the ordinary folk" more than half found graves on the desolate islet.

De Monts and Champlain must be held free from all responsibility for this calamitous outbreak of scurvy, which as a disease has nothing to do with climate or locality. Depending for its origin on a state of the blood produced by the absence of essential elements in the food, it would have broken out just as surely had the company been located on the St. John or the Penobscot, instead of the St. Croix. Sixty years before, Cartier's company in Quebec would have been annihilated by the dread scourge, had it not been for the timely interposition—by himself believed to have been miraculous—of some friendly Indians with the wonderfully efficacious annedda. In Virginia a violent outbreak contributed to the collapse of the first English attempt at colonisation. To come nearer home, and at the same time peer into the future, it will follow our settlers to Port Royal and in both years spent there make damaging inroads on their ranks. Worse still, just four years later at Quebec, the monster will lay low twenty-eight of the thirty men, with whom Champlain was guarding his rocky citadel. De Monts and Champlain cannot be held responsible for the scurvy at St. Croix.

It is proper to notice that all the first-hand knowledge which the world possesses of the tragic events at Saint Croix Island during the winter 1604-5, it owes to the honest pen of Champlain himself, which describes them as frankly and fully and faithfully, as though his own reputation was not in any way involved, as though the matters related belonged to some foreign nation or some distant age.

Tardy spring at length appeared. The snow began to melt, the ice to thaw, the chilled bodies of the invalids to realise agreeable sensations of warmth. The Etechemins (Malicetes) laying aside their surly and suspicious reserve, hastened the process of convalescence by bringing to the encampment for barter supplies of fresh fish and venison. The leaders of the company so fearfully thinned out were casting over in their minds, how, and how soon, they might effect an escape from a place, where having planned to found a colony, they were leaving behind, a cemetery. Pontgravé would soon be due from France. His arrival with the sadly needed stores

must be awaited, before a decisive plan of action can be arranged. Captain du Pont—as Lescarbot calls him—was a prompt and pushing man. So on June 15th he sailed up the river in a shallop, announcing that his ship was in the offing, well-loaded with provisions and wine and having on board no less than forty men to re-inforce the depleted colony. He was naturally disappointed with the general aspect of things for he “thought to find there a colony firmly planted and his quarters ready.” Leaving Pontgravé in charge at St. Croix de Monts hastened his departure in search “of another haven in a warmer and more southerly region—and by making discoveries to seek out a happier port in a more temperate climate.”

The exploring party consisted of de Monts, Champlain and a few other gentlemen whose names have not come down to us, with Champdoré and Cramolet to jointly steer the little barque. The crew of twenty was probably supplied from Pontgravé’s vessels just arrived. As given out by de Monts, and as generally understood, the object of the voyage now undertaken, was to investigate the coast lying between the point of departure and de Monts’ southern limit, with the view of finding a suitable place for permanent settlement, St. Croix having proved so disappointing and disastrous a failure.

The particulars of the exploration, thus initiated, somewhat unfortunately do not concern our narrative. The object for which it was expressly undertaken, so far from being recognised and acted on throughout as supplying its regulative principle, does not seem so far as can be judged from Champlain’s records, to have made its influence felt at all. At a most critical juncture in the history of the enterprise, when an issue in which all were interested was at stake, the Royal Geographer threw himself into his own specialities with almost absolute absorption. For new and novel phenomena on sea or land his vision was never keener. The curiously formed horse-shoe crab, the crude tillage and thievish propensities of the Armachiquois alike arrest attention. His hydrographic fame here reaches its high water mark. Nowhere has he left such abiding monuments of his skill as on the New England coast. It was in view of the performances of this very voyage that Parkman wrote: “Cham-

plain's most conspicuous merit lies in the light that he threw into the dark places of American geography and the order that he brought out of the chaos of American cartography." In the presence of such achievements it will probably be unreasonable to complain if in the end the exploration results in nothing directly helpful to the Acadian enterprise.

At St. Croix the return of de Monts and his party was awaited with intense interest and perhaps some impatience. The partially recovered victims of scurvy drew delightful pictures of a new home in the sunny south, where long winters do not doom one to salted food, and where amid fruits and flowers, all memory of frost and snow will fade away. No one was skeptical enough to doubt for an instant as to what intelligence the returning voyagers were bringing with them.

On August 15th, the barque sailed up the river and anchored at St. Croix. The report—a true one—was soon in circulation that the voyage instead of extending to the fortieth, had ended at the southerly limit of Cape Cod, and that on the coast actually traversed there had been "found no fit place in which to make a permanent settlement." In passing it may be said, or repeated, that in Champlain's journal of the voyage no evidence of a single effort to find such a place can be found. Hopes had been so high, expectations so confident, that the news of a purely negative result had a most chilling and depressing effect. The alternatives seemed to be continuance at St. Croix or a collapse of the enterprise. But the depressed spirits soon rose again. A happy *via media* had been suggested, which soon received official approval and sanction. The colonists were to recross the bay and "make their plantation at Port Royal until it was possible to carry out further explorations." In due time—indeed within a very short time—the further explorations were carried out, but not with the result of dethroning Port Royal. Though not without sundry supersessions, the plantation remained at Port Royal until the end of the French rule in Acadia.

Whether the suggestion to compromise on Port Royal came originally from de Monts or not, there can be no doubt of his acquiescence in its propriety, though Lescarbot is clearly right in

stating that "De Monts would have wished the settlement to be near the fortieth degree." It is simply the distinction between the abstractly desirable and the practically attainable. But de Monts did not tie his hands. The proposition to transfer the plantation to Port Royal has a limiting condition.

Champlain and Pontgravé are sent across to select a site for the colony on the shores of the beautiful basin. The duty was well discharged, how carefully can be learned from the relevant extract from Champlain's journal to be found in the appendix. Which was preferable in the initial stage of the enterprise, the site in Lower Granville, opposite Goat Island, actually chosen by Champlain and Pontgravé, or the one where the town of Annapolis now stands which they were strongly moved to select, is, we believe, a somewhat debateable question.

The site selected, de Monts appointed Pontgravé his lieutenant to oversee and conduct the transfer. Pontgravé executed the duty assigned him "with great diligence as was his nature." "M. du Pont was not a man to sit still, nor allow his men to remain idle." Two special boats, something like scows, were constructed to convey over the bulkier material. Pontgravé's own vessel was on hand to aid in the work of transportation. The connected dwellings and store-houses known as the Habitation were taken down and the material carefully sorted that as much of the timber, boards and fittings as were sound and unbroken might be taken to Port Royal to enter into the construction of the buildings about to be erected there. Saint Croix Island relapsed into its original solitude.¹ The scene shifts to Port Royal.

¹ St. Croix, Dochet (or Doshea's), Neutral, and now de Monts', Island has been, since this abandonment, without an inhabitant, except in later times a light house keeper and his family. The island is part of the State of Maine.

PORT ROYAL.

1605-7.

During the late summer and early autumn of A. D. 1605 a great change was coming over the face of things on the shores of Port Royal adjacent to Goat Island. The various processes involved in clearing heavily timbered land without either animal or mechanical traction were being carried forward with great rapidity. Early in September enough ground had been laid bare to permit the digging of a cellar and the laying of foundations of a residential abode of very considerable proportions. The vessel lying in the port and which from the number of boats crossing between her and the shore seems to be a great centre of interest, is the one which under Pontgravé's command so opportunely in June last brought over a load of stores to the famished company at St. Croix. In a few days she is to sail for France and de Monts himself will take passage in her. A large number of the gentry will embrace the opportunity of seeing home again. They have urgent business calls, or perhaps have had their *quantum sufficit* of life in the wilderness. Two causes are co-operating to take de Monts away from his colony. His company is financially embarrassed, the outlay exceeding the income. Then his monopoly is in a critical condition. Powerful interests are arrayed against it. Confiscations are making it very unpopular. The indignant protests extend from St. Jean de Luz under the shadow of the Pyrenees, to St. Malo close by the Channel Islands.

De Monts did all in his power to accommodate those who could show any good reason for returning to France. He properly felt that it would be harsh to keep longer in Acadia those who had passed through the terrible experiences at St. Croix, if their heart was set on seeing home again. So there was a large exodus. Of de Monts' prominent associates on the outward voyage, Champlain and Champdoré alone remained behind.¹ Pontgravé, who had sailed his own ship out, is now at Port Royal in charge of the colony. The only

¹ "Champlain for geography; Champdoré for conducting our voyages." *Les-carbot*.

other individual of rank remaining in Acadia, is the gentleman variously styled Fougeray and Foulgère de Vitré. Champlain can state his reason for staying with the colony: "I at the same time, hoping to have an opportunity of making some new explorations towards Florida determined to stay there also, of which Sieur de Monts approved."

Life at the new Habitation soon settled down into a regular order of procedure. The building itself, though somewhat of a replica of the one torn down at St. Croix, had some important "modern improvements," among others "a fine cellar from five to six feet deep." There were special quarters for Sieur de Monts himself, "handsomely furnished," but which alas! the "distinguished nobleman" was destined never to occupy, for he sailed before the completion of the edifice. Pontgravé had a talent for administration, and a good gift of oversight so that as a rule things ran smoothly. Some of the men indulged, late as the season was, in amateurish gardening, in which occupation Champlain joined them "for the sake of occupying my time." This means probably that the King's Geographer was out of raw material for maps, charts, and such things, and needed a new tour of exploration to replenish his stock. To Champlain the monotony of the quiet autumn was agreeably broken. He had felt all along that if chance should throw in his way one of those Indians "who had conducted Prevert's men to the copper mine," he would get on the right track for solving that great mystery. He learned and he believed that "the savage named Secondon, chief of the Indian tribe on the St. John river," was the very man who had guided Prevert's men on the occasion referred to. Without delay Champlain crossed the bay, and having found Secondon's camp received from him most gratifying assurances of his willingness to take him to the mine. They accordingly set out accompanied by the new miner, "Master Jacques, a native of Slavonia, a man skilful in searching for minerals," and with him "made the entire circuit of the hills" only to find "something like a mine, which, however, was far from being one." Champlain does not drop a hint as to his idea of the locality to which he was taken to

see this altogether unsatisfactory sort of a mine. It certainly cannot be identified with Advocate Harbor. None of the savages mixed up in the business seem to have had anything to say to Champlain about Prevert and his men. The element of truth in Prevert's original story must have been microscopically small.

The winter on the whole passed pleasantly. There was a good water supply and plenty of fuel close at hand. The forest, and especially the North Mountain, protected the Habitation from north-west winds. Moose meat, venison and partridge were obtainable in abundance and on easy terms from the friendly Indians of the neighborhood. Weather conditions may not have been altogether pleasant, but this winter there was no suffering, but at worst mere inconvenience. The precipitation mostly took the form of rain. A wind storm in February was "a remarkable sight," that is, the up-rooted trees were.

In spite of various precautions, most of them of not the slightest value, the inevitable scurvy made its appearance at the regular date, about midwinter. It laid low twelve of the forty-five residents of the Habitation, a serious percentage even if not so high as the terrible toll exacted at St. Croix. It is a sad coincidence that the accomplished mineralogist, Master Jacques of Slavonia, was fatally seized shortly after returning from his trip with Secondon to the copper mine.

The record of Pontgravé's year of administration continues to darken from the beginning of the first spring month onward. On parting from them at Port Royal, de Monts had laid a solemn injunction on Pontgravé and Champlain to subject, as soon as spring opened, the "coast towards Florida," that is, the part of his own coast lying south of Cape Cod, to a most thorough exploration, that he might obtain for his colony a place of settlement superior to Port Royal. Accordingly on March 1st orders were given to get ready a barque of eighteen tons "in order to go on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Florida."¹ They started on the eve of the equinoctial (March 16th) and came near foundering on a rock near

¹ The French often used the name Florida in the Spanish sense to denote the whole coast north from the Gulf of Mexico.

Grand Manan. Though Champdoré managed to get the barque off the reef and to patch up the holes caused by the impact, the explorers were eventually compelled to retrace their course to Port Royal. How on April 8th they made a fresh start for the coast of Florida, how their barque came to grief just as she emerged from the Basin into the Bay, how Secondon saved their lives with his canoes and how Champdoré was handcuffed for his recklessness, will be found in the appendix, graphically described by Champlain himself.

The arrangement under which Pontgravé had accepted the lieutenancy at Port Royal provided that his term of office should expire on July 15th—a date not now far off—and that if not replaced when that time arrived, he should disband the colony and with the rest of the company return to France. A barque was hastily constructed, so that in case of the non-arrival of a successor, or at least of some instructions from de Monts, effect might be given to the order of abandonment. The fifteenth came and went without Pontgravé's being in any way put in touch with affairs at home. He acted on the terms of the pre-arrangement. On the morning of the 16th, with the exception of two brave fellows who had been left to guard the Habitation, the whole company was put on board the barque, to pick up at Canso or Cape Breton some returning fisherman or fur-trader for their conveyance to France. But before the barque had worked her way out into the bay and through Petit Passage, a slow old tub of a vessel called the Jonas had passed Canso and on an outside course was heading for Cape Sable. At this point it is necessary to hunt up de Monts and ascertain what he has been doing since we bade him farewell at Port Royal the previous September. Having returned in safety to France, he found two difficult problems pressing on him for solution, how best to protect and fortify his monopoly; what arrangements to make for the future government of his colony in New France. The first of these does not concern this particular part of our narrative, no matter how energetically and how adroitly he tried to stave off the day of doom. It is quite otherwise with the second problem, to the solution of which the Port Royal episode is so largely indebted for its high rank in the annals of picturesque and realistic description. De Monts, on a survey of

the whole situation, offered the governorship at Port Royal to his friend and sub-grantee, the Baron de Poutrincourt. Poutrincourt decided to take with him, as right-hand man in an unofficial capacity, his legal adviser, Marc Lescarbot. Lescarbot at first hesitated: "Thinking the matter over, I gave him my word, desirous not so much to see the country as to explore the districts with my own eyes and to flee an evil world."¹

The ship *Jonas*, already reported as sailing down the coast of Acadia, is bringing Poutrincourt and Lescarbot to Port Royal. There is on board, in addition to abundant stores supplied by "the partners of M. de Monts, Messrs. Macquin and Georges, honorable merchants of Rochelle," a reinforcement of fifty. A yellow passenger, Louis Hebert, the apothecary, is destined to attain considerable distinction at Quebec, where he went with Champlain after the disruption of Port Royal. He lives in history as the founder of the first family circle in New France. De Monts spent the month preceding the somewhat belated sailing of the *Jonas* with his friends at Rochelle, where he "saw them off." As has been stated elsewhere, the long current representation of his having crossed over with them in the *Jonas*; subsequently, after a few weeks' stay at Port Royal, returning to France by the same vessel, is entirely unauthorised.

Let us return to Pontgravé and Champlain on their way to catch the homeward bound vessel at Canso or Cape Breton. They had a rough time of it almost from the start. When anchored in Petit Passage, their cable broke. Between Long Island and Cape Fourchu their rudder-irons suffered the same fate. The appendix may be referred to for information as to how Champdoré intervened at the crisis and happily lost his handcuffs. The outgoing barque and the inward-bound *Jonas* missed one another. The former was creeping—perhaps too closely—along the shore, while the *Jonas* had taken an outer course for Canso. But Ralleau, the secretary of de Monts, was on board the *Jonas*, and he had kept his wits about him. Feeling

¹ Lescarbot had just lost a lawsuit involving some of his landed property. The decision was reversed on appeal. Lescarbot thus addresses the Advocate-General: "To whom belongs the praise originally given to the wisest and most magnificent of Kings: 'Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness.' " (P's. XIX. v. 9.)

sure that Pontgravé would not wait beyond the 16th at Port Royal, he had left his ship at Canso, and taken to a long-boat for the inner shore route along the coast. The barque and the long-boat met near Cape Sable. When they reached Port Royal, they found the Jonas anchored in the basin, and Poutrincourt and Lescarbot duly installed in the Habitation. Two years of the original Port Royal episode have run their course.

The re-union of Poutrincourt and Champlain,—the former bringing de Monts' latest view—naturally led to a careful revision of the situation with an equally careful forecast of the future. It would appear that de Monts had instructed Poutrincourt to move the colony at once to some more southerly site without any more preliminary exploration. Poutrincourt decided "to stay at Port Royal this year," meanwhile trying "to find some place better adapted for our abode."¹

A decision was reached to build a small vessel such as "draws little water, searches everywhere, and finds places to one's mind for effecting settlements, and with her to undertake another voyage of discovery." It is, of course, quite uncertain how much real enthusiasm he threw into the projected search.

Then we have an interesting piece of information: "Thus deciding, Sieur de Poutrincourt despatched at once some laborers to work on the land in a spot which he deemed suitable, at the river, a league and a half from the settlement of Port Royal, and where we (Champlain and Pontgravé when charged with the selection of a site) had thought of making our abode. Here he ordered wheat, rye, hemp and several other kinds of seeds, to be sown, in order to ascertain how they would flourish."²

Pontgravé, whose year of service had expired, delayed at Port Royal only long enough to unload the Jonas and provide equipment for the trip back to France. "This (the unloading of the ship) being done, Pontgravé embarked together with his companions who had wintered with him at Port Royal, except Champdoré and Foulgeré

¹ This language is put in Poutrincourt's mouth by Champlain. Poutrincourt's position was dual and somewhat perplexing. He was acting governor of the colony and at the same time by grant of de Monts lord of the manor. The abandonment of Port Royal might inure to his personal gain.

² This was the identical spot on which the town of Annapolis now stands. That historic place came first into prominence as a miniature experimental farm.

de Vitré. I also stayed with de Poutrincourt, in order with God's help, to complete the map of the coasts and countries which I had commenced." So says Champlain. On the 29th of August Poutrincourt and he set out from Port Royal "to make discoveries on the coast of Florida."

Much importance was attached by both de Monts and Champlain to the exploring expedition now under sail. The coast from St. Croix to Cape Cod had already been examined, surveyed, mapped and charted,—with what, so far as the choice of a site for settlement was concerned, might be regarded as superfluous minuteness and care. The object now in view is to find out what are the possibilities of the region lying between Cape Cod and the fortieth. De Monts naturally felt that he could not tell just how rich he was until these had been exhaustively scrutinised. What he particularly impressed on Poutrincourt in their conferences at Rochelle was the importance of laying bare the secrets of that which he considered the most valuable portion of his domain. "M. de Monts greatly desired to push as far south as possible, and to find a spot well suited for a colony beyond Malebarre (near Cape Cod, the southern limit of survey) and had therefore requested M. de Poutrincourt to go further on than he had himself done, and to search for a suitable harbour in a good climate." Lescarbot, who had got thoroughly surcharged with de Monts' wishes and hopes, regarded it as a certainty "that next year the colony would be settled in a warmer country beyond Malebarre, and that we would all journey there together, in company with reinforcements from France." Champlain had strong reasons of his own for regarding the exploration of the southern coast as a matter of the utmost moment. Providence—or should it rather be said Champdoré's recklessness—had thwarted the last spring's attempt by Pontgravé and himself to reach and explore it. It is reported that matters of marvellous importance await discovery in those unexplored regions. This, which may be for France her last opportunity, should be promptly seized upon. He therefore advised Poutrincourt—and as the "King's Geographer" he had a right to advise him—to sail across to Cape Cod by the most direct route, and to begin there the exploration of the unknown coast line beyond as far

as the fortieth, or even farther, leaving all revisiting, if there be time for any, to be done on the way back. This sound and sensible advice Poutrincourt rejected. The new leader was childishly curious to see everything for himself. From St. Croix to Cape Cod the whole line of the coast was re-inspected, though of course under the circumstances Champlain could not be expected to do much first class hydrographic work. Indeed very little exploration proper was attempted. More time was wasted, or worse than wasted in wrangling with the Indians than would have sufficed for the discovery of Manhattan Island and the noble river that flows by it to the sea. Like its predecessor, the expedition turned back at Cape Cod. In the account book of discoveries and explorations nothing was put down to its credit. For France the golden opportunity was lost and lost forever. We hear no more of explorations "towards Florida."

While Poutrincourt and Champlain are away on this unsatisfactory and bootless mission, how are matters progressing at Port Royal? Perhaps never more smoothly and more encouragingly. Poutrincourt, without, so far as can be learned, assigning Lescarbot specific official duties and responsibilities during his absence, let every one see before he left how fully his brilliant young friend enjoyed his confidence and how safe it would be to take him as an exponent of his own views and wishes. As Lescarbot explains his position in the encampment he "had been requested to keep an eye on the place, and to keep peace among those who remained." The bright young lawyer-poet played the role of a *paterfamilias* to perfection. He improved the drainage of the Habitation. For so small an establishment there was an astonishing variety of skilled labor, and in every branch of industry, a three-hours-a-day law was put in force. The principle of unionism, however, did not seem to prevail, as while each workman had his special trade "they had also to set to work at whatever turned up, as many of them did;" e. g. "certain masons and stone-cutters turned their hands to baking, and made as good bread as that of Paris." Altogether, the period of informal authority during the absence of his elders was to Lescarbot himself a very enjoyable one.

On November 14th, Poutrincourt and Champlain reached Port

Royal on their return from a tour of ostensible discovery and explorations, which bungled in its inception, was characterised throughout by mishap, and seriously marred by mismanagement. Its record is perhaps the only one of Champlain's journals that has failed to elicit complimentary allusion.

As the barque conveying home the explorers neared the entrance of the basin, wind and tide together, or rather probably by their opposition, gave the helmsman some trouble. The passage way was missed and the vessel driven for some distance up the bay, but no serious consequences ensued. Lescarbot's pious reflections over their escape are rather overstrained.¹ It is almost comic to find assigned as a reason for not likening the perils encountered by his friends in the Bay of Fundy to the storm pictures of Homer and Virgil, the fear "lest he should stain our holy voyages with impurity."

"Neptune's Theatre," a little drama with rhymed verses, was prepared by Lescarbot to greet the voyagers as they stepped on the landing stage. The author's account of it will be found in the appendix. Champlain refers to it as "a humorous entertainment."

The inevitable winter was drawing on. Our dependence for knowledge of the details of its history is mainly on Lescarbot, though he himself tells us that "it would be tedious to particularise all that was done among us during the winter, as for example"—he is letting out some interesting information—"to tell how the said M. de Pout-rincourt many times ordered charcoal to be made, the supply at the forge being spent; how he had paths constructed through the woods; how we went through the forest guided by the compass." He gives a full description of the celebrated Order of Good Cheer down to the minutest details. Probably every student of early Acadian history has been surprised to find that the sober, sedate, not to say prosaic Champlain was the inventor of this sportive device, and not the quick-witted and volatile Lescarbot himself. Champlain, however, is careful to inform us that the invention grew out of considerations of health rather than of strict amusement, being "more advantageous

¹"But in these high enterprises, God wishes to prove the constancy of those who fight for His name, and to see that they quail not. He leads them into the very gate of hell, that is to say, of the tomb, and nevertheless holds them by the hand, that they fall not into the ditch."

than all the medicines that could have been used." It is both interesting and instructive to note that in the only abode of civilised man to be found on the American continent north of St. Augustine during the winter A. D. 1606, there was to be found such an instrumentality of social pleasure, co-operating with accessories that Parisian gourmands would not despise.

As to the prevalent weather of the winter, both historians have left us their impressions. They agree that the winter was a mild one—everything to them of course was judged by the standard of St. Croix—even milder than its predecessor, with little snow and pretty continuous rain falls. Lescarbot keeps in his memory the occasional bright variations, how, for instance, "on a Sunday afternoon, the 14th of January, we amused ourselves by singing music along the banks of the river (the Annapolis)" and "how during the same month we paid a visit to the cornfields two leagues from our fort and dined joyously in the sunshine." It was reflection on the absence of snow that prompted the observant lawyer to express the opinion that "snow in moderation is very useful to the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a cloak of fur."

Champlain goes into the matters of day and date quite minutely, but makes no mention of the special warm spells—unusual though perhaps not unforecasted—referred to by Lescarbot. Indeed he reports that on January 16th, the same river on whose banks Lescarbot and his companions were "singing music" on the 14th, was sealed with ice. The two authorities, however, agree as to the general characteristics of the winter months. Champlain carries his record forward into the spring and early summer. These seasons were tardy in their development, not an unusual sequel to a mild winter on these Atlantic shores. "On the 10th of May it snowed all night and towards the end of the month there were heavy hoar frosts, which lasted until the 10th or 12th of June." He adds that "the savages suffered a severe famine, owing to the small quantity of snow," a privation at least partially relieved by the hospitality of the Habitation.

The inevitable scurvy made its appearance in due time, and indeed seemed to have been taken quite as a matter of course. Neither the *Ordre de Bon Temps*, with all the culinary skill of the Atoctegic concocting "some savory meat of flesh or fish" and having at his command the forty-five hogsheads of "good wine" supplied by those lavish purveyors, Macquin and Georges of Rochelle, nor all or any of the other sure safeguards so learnedly set forth by Lescarbot, could keep the fell monster from the entrance door of the dwellings at Port Royal. Of a company, not probably outnumbering forty in all, seven died; eight or ten others were stricken, but recovered.

With the passing of the winter, the usual activities of spring and early summer were resumed. Some of the men were set to making gardens "wherein to sow seed and reap the fruit thereof." Others went to catch the fish with which the fresh water brooks were over-running. As Poutrincourt's year of superintendency was to end at midsummer, carpenters and masons were employed in extending the buildings so as to accommodate the new settlers who were to come out with his successor. Anxious to secure for his men relief from the intolerable torture of the hand-mill, and having, now that the dream of a settlement near the fortieth had vanished, full faith in the perpetuity of Port Royal, he ordered a water-mill to be built on one of the smaller streams. This Lescarbot tells us excited much admiration among the savages, "for indeed it is an invention which did not come to the spirit of man during the early centuries." The new mill "by diligence of our miller" greatly increased the catch of herrings, two casks of which Monsieur de Poutrincourt ordered to be salted and sent to France as a sample of the product of western waters.

"While all this was going on, M. de Poutrincourt failed not to think on our return." As early as April "he began to fit out the two long boats, one large and one small, to go in search of French ships in the direction of Canso or Newfoundland, should it happen that we received no succor (i. e., in case no vessel should arrive from France to take them home)." A difficulty arose. The article of pitch had been overlooked when the Jonas took in her cargo at Rochelle. Happily the inventive genius of M. de Poutrincourt proved equal to the emergency. The long-boats will be caulked after all. An hundred

weight of spruce gum was collected, melted and purified, and then subjected to the operation of an old-fashioned distilling apparatus by which its "quintessence" was extracted. The resultant answered all the purposes of pitch.

Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the difference between Champlain and Lescarbot as historians, or narrators of events, than their respective accounts of an incident occurring at Port Royal, on May 24th, A. D. 1607. The following is from Champlain: "On the 24th of May, we perceived a small barque of six or seven tons' burthen, which we sent men to reconnoitre; and it was found to be a young man from St. Malo, named Chevalier, who brought letters from Sieur de Monts to Sieur de Poutrincourt by which he directed him to bring back his company to France." In Lescarbot one has to read a good-sized page before he reaches the essential fact which Champlain embodies in the few lines quoted. The date of the account instead of being given as the 24th of May was when "the sun was beginning to warm the earth and to cast amorous eyes on his mistress." The first eyes to see the sail on the lake were those of the ultra-centenarian Sagamos Membertou. The hour was "when we had made a solemn prayer to God, and distributed breakfast to our people as was our custom." Sundry other prefaces are required to lead up to the announcement that Poutrincourt had received orders to abandon Port Royal.

Still amplification and detail have their place, and it must be admitted that Lescarbot follows the fundamental statement with information which we are glad to have and to epitomise here. Our old ship Jonas was still afloat and was now at Canso. Chevalier, the young man from St. Malo, had crossed in her, and had come on in the shallop, to bring the letters of de Monts to Poutrincourt. The Jonas was to stay around the Canso waters fishing cod until the affairs at Port Royal could be put in shape for the final abandonment. The colonists were to join the ship at Canso by means of Poutrincourt's small vessels. The information sent by de Monts to Poutrincourt is partially revealed. The company, having conducted a successful St. Lawrence trade during the first two years of its operation, had suffered enormous loss by a Dutch invasion of its preserves and

was now practically bankrupt. Further, to complete the ruin of the enterprise, "the monopoly granted for ten years to de Monts had been recently revoked, a blow wholly unexpected." It was "for this reason no one had been sent to dwell in our place." Then Lescarbot moralises: "If we were joyous to see our succor assured, we were also greatly saddened to see so fair and holy an enterprise frustrated, whereby so many labors and perils past were made of no avail, and the hope of planting there the name of God and the Catholic faith vanished into air." Then he makes an important announcement: "Nevertheless, M. de Poutrincourt after long musing on the matter, declared that though he were to come alone with his family, he would not abandon the venture." So far Poutrincourt's relation to Port Royal had been simply that of deputy, acting for de Monts. Though de Monts had promised to make him feudal lord at Port Royal, within limits not specified, no transfer of title had taken place. In declaring his purpose not to abandon the venture, he is anticipating the acquisition of full territorial rights, which as a matter of fact he did eventually acquire and act on.

It is interesting to learn that Chevalier brought with him not only de Monts' instructions to abandon Port Royal, but also an announcement of "the birth of Monseigneur, The Duke of Orleans, to our delight, in honor of which event we made bonfires and chanted the *Te Deum*."

Not much of the story of the original Port Royal remains to be told. It will close as soon as the Jonas shall have picked up her cargo of codfish in the waters around Canso and Cape Breton.

Meanwhile there is time for one or two expeditionary asides. Chevalier, with his vessel and crew, is remaining at Port Royal. Poutrincourt finds it necessary to keep a sharp eye on him. He had come out as captain of the Jonas and so had been entrusted with a supply of delicacies, varied with substantial solids, to make pleasant the closing hours of the Port Royal episode. These the rascal and his comrades had eaten up on the voyage out, with no better explanation¹ than that "we had all been given up for dead." To the lack of

¹"Six sheep, twenty-four hens, a pound of pepper, twenty pounds of rice, as many raisins and prunes, a thousand almonds, a pound of nutmeg, a quarter

confidence generated by this dishonest conduct, there was added a strong suspicion that he was planning to steal off to Canso, pick up the Jonas and clear at once for France, leaving Poutrincourt and his company stranded at Port Royal. To head off such a catastrophe as that, "a crew was put on his vessel and he was kept where he was." Not to disgrace him too openly, Poutrincourt—there being a fortnight or so at his disposal—decided to send him to the river St. John, to negotiate with our old friend Chief Secondon regarding the purchase of some furs which that tribal lord was reported to have in his possession. Champdoré was appointed to pilot the barque, and Lescarbot went as gentleman at large. The incidents of the trip requiring notice were few. Saint Croix as well as St. John Harbour were visited. In language which will scarcely bear quotation, Lescarbot expresses a very unfavorable opinion of Chief Secondon's furs. At St. Croix "we found some Spanish wine still remaining at the bottom of a pipe, whereof we drank and found it very little the worse. As for the gardens, we found there cabbages, sorrel, and lettuce, which went to fill the pot."² Lescarbot also heaves a sigh over the misconduct of some of "the undisciplined sailors" who made a bonfire of casks found scattered around the court-yard. Considering the associations and tragic memories of the place in which he now found himself, one would have expected from him something better than a report of such trivialities, an elegy—or at least a tear—to mark his respect for the fallen.

Champlain naturally enough gives no details of Lescarbot's visits to the Saint John river and to St. Croix. However, with his bare mention of such visits, he manages to interweave a reference to Lescarbot which stung that sensitive—not to say thin-skinned—gentleman to the quick and which is generally accepted as marking the beginning of the well-known "authors' quarrel" between the con-

of a pound of cinnamon, half a pound of cloves, two pounds of lemon peel, two dozen lemons, as many oranges, a Westphalian ham, and six other hams; a cask of Gascon wine and another of Spanish wine, a hogshead of salt beef, four and a half pints of olive oil, a jar of olives, a barrel of vinegar, and two sugar loaves."

²The story of the wine, rather strange as it sounds, is not incredible. But how could there be cabbages and lettuce descended from the seed dribbled into the soil two years before? Sorrel is a perennial and may have been the esculent with which the pot was filled, if filled at all.

temporary historians. "Lescarbot," says Champlain, "was one of those who accompanied him (Chevalier) who up to this time had not left Port Royal. This is the farthest he went, only fourteen or fifteen leagues beyond Port Royal." If the fact is as stated there really would not seem to be much in this to give offense; yet it cut like a razor. Here is the retort: "I do not see why Champlain in his account of his voyages, printed in 1613, goes out of his way to say that I did not go farther than Saint Croix, seeing that I do not say to the contrary." It was true that Lescarbot was not much of a traveller like Champlain and Pontgravé, being neither explorer nor fur-trader, but when such as he, a landsman, a lawyer with a taste for literature, is willing to brave the ocean to oblige a friend and at the same time promote the enterprise in which Champlain himself is engaged in, surely he should not be sneered at in this fashion as a chicken-hearted, stay-at-home weakling. It is plain that all this meaning and perhaps more, Lescarbot took out of the statement unnecessarily dragged in, that he had not been "fourteen or fifteen leagues beyond Port Royal." The literary results of this jibe of Champlain's—if jibe it was—will be noticed in connection with a brief reference to the writings of the two men to whose pens the Port Royal incident owes so much. It is enough to point out here that Champlain—owing to careless writing probably—does Lescarbot an obvious, though perhaps not very serious injustice. While the distance from Port Royal to St. John is about fourteen or fifteen leagues, that to St. Croix is twenty-five, and as Lescarbot went as far as St. Croix, his credit for maximum distance from St. Croix should have been the latter figure.

All business other than that involved in preparation for an early¹ departure having been brought to a standstill at Port Royal, Champlain, who was never happier than when prospecting for minerals, decided to fill in the time before the Jonas sailed, by a cruise up the Great Bay and taking another look at Port des Mines. On this "tour of the Bay" the Basin of Minas received its first, though exceedingly imperfect, exploration, while at Port des Mines things were found pretty much as they were before. "Whither," says

Champlain, "I conducted *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, who collected some little pieces of copper with great difficulty."

Shortly after the arrival of *Chevalier* with his unwelcome message from de Monts, *Poutrincourt* had decided to forward the returning colonists to Canso in successive detachments, a course indeed rendered necessary by the smallness of his transport vessels. Almost at the same moment, *Poutrincourt* and *Champlain* from Port des Mines, *Lescarbot* and *Chevalier* from St. Croix, and the captain and crew of the barque which had been sent to Canso with the first of the above detachments, returned to Port Royal, to consummate arrangements for final leave-taking.

A few days later, "Ralleau, secretary of *Sieur de Monts*, arrived with three others on a shallop from a place called *Niganis* (*Ingonish*), distant from Port Royal some hundred and sixty or hundred and seventy leagues, confirming the report which *Champlain* had brought to *Sieur de Poutrincourt*." Ralleau had come out on the *Jonas*, and was now at Port Royal under official instructions to assist *Poutrincourt* in closing up the colony, and to convey to him fully his master's mind on certain matters of detail.

On the thirtieth of July the second, and largest, detachment set sail for Canso. *Lescarbot* was in the large long-boat, under charge of *Champdoré*. It would not appear that *Lescarbot*, who was, to tell the truth, not much of a sailor—a fact that gave special point to *Champlain's* jibe—enjoyed this trip along the coast from *Petit Passage* to Canso; at least he gives few details connected with it. There was one incident, however, of almost historic importance, the call on Captain *Savalet* of *Whitehaven*, the record of which will be found among the *Lescarbot* extracts. *Poutrincourt* and *Champlain* did not leave Port Royal for ten or twelve days after the main body. Experimentation in grain growing on the light sandy soil along the river had been singularly successful, and anxious to take home specimens of the grain just to show the King what a fine agricultural colony he was allowing to be abandoned, *Poutrincourt* waited until he should see the corn fit to pluck and so be able to exhibit it in all its "beauty, richness, and exceeding height." The versatile *Lescarbot* had associated himself so closely with his friend and official superior in

his agricultural operations that he had "cause to rejoice that he was one of the party, and among the first tillers of the land." "And herein," he adds, "I took the more pleasure in that I put before my eyes our ancient father Noah, a great king, a great priest and a great prophet, whose vocation was the plough and the vineyard; and that old Roman captain Serranus, who was found sowing his field when sent for to lead the Roman army, and Quintus Cincinnatus, who, all covered with dust, bareheaded and ungirt, was ploughing four acres of land, when the herald of the senate brought him the letters of dictatorship; so that the said herald was forced to pray him to put on his hat before he delivered his message."

Poutrincourt and Champlain reached Canso ten days after Lescarbot. The "King's Geographer" performed his last official duty in Acadia by examining the coast from La Have to Canso. "This I had not yet done, and I observed it very carefully, making a map of it as of the other coasts." Champlain notes their arrival at Canso on the 27th of August as follows: "Leaving this place (Whitehaven where they had called to pay their respects to Captain Savalet) we arrived at Canso, having passed on our way a large number of islands. At Canso we found that the three barques had arrived at port safely. Champdoré and Lescarbot came out to rescue us. We found also the vessel (the Jonas) ready to sail, having finished its fishing and awaiting only fair weather to return. Meanwhile we had much enjoyment among these islands, where we found the greatest quantity of raspberries."

The Jonas made a good run over, leaving Canso on September 3d, and putting in at Roscou, Brittany (St. Malo was her ultimate destination) on the 28th. Champlain closes his voyages from the year 1604-1608 as follows:

"On the third of September we set out from Canso. On the 4th we were off Sable Island. On the 6th we reached the Grand Bank, where the catching of green fish is carried on in latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$. On the 26th we entered the sound near the shores of Brittany and England, in sixty-five fathoms of water, and in latitude $49^{\circ} 30'$. On the 28th we put in at Roscou, in Lower Brittany, where we were detained by bad weather until the last day of September, when the

wind coming around favourable we put to sea in order to pursue our route to St. Malo, which formed the termination of these voyages, in which God had guided us without shipwreck or danger." Brave Champlain! He has yet twenty Atlantic voyages ahead of him.

Here is Lescarbot's account of the closing part of the trip on the Jonas.

"The 26th of September we sighted the Scilly Isles, which are at the extremity of Cornwall in England, and on the 28th thinking to reach St. Malo, we were forced for lack of a fair wind to put into Roscou in Lower Brittany, where we remained two days and a half to recuperate. We had on board a savage, who was much astonished to see the buildings, spires and wind-mills of France, but more the women, whom he had never seen dressed after our manner."

The train of causes that led to this summary collapse of what Lescarbot regarded as a most hopeful attempt to plant the seeds of civilisation and religion overseas invites inquiry. Some success had certainly been achieved. The reeling blow at St. Croix had been largely recovered from and, as a local affair, the enterprise was nicely on its legs again at Port Royal. Indeed as taken from the slopes around that beautiful basin, the outlook was really encouraging. The company had mainly survived the winter—a right pleasant winter it was—and its members generally were in good health and spirits. The vegetative power of nature was causing the seeds to sprout. Champlain might be inwardly fretting because no further voyages "toward Florida" were in sight. Poutrincourt—though there were only annual communications with Europe—was sufficiently in touch with de Monts by an invisible wire not to feel occasional spasms of anxiety about the future. But both leaders, expecting to return to France when "those to succor us come," were reasonably hopeful and assured, while the bright and breezy Lescarbot rattled away more vivaciously than usual, little dreaming that in a week or two his rhetorical power would be put to so severe a strain in describing the circumstances under which Chevalier was to announce the downfall of Port Royal.

But all this was on the surface. De Monts, so far as is known, never fully disclosed his ultimate plans, if he had any. In its practical

working, his enterprise yoked together two irreconcilable opposites. He would locate his colony as near the fortieth parallel as possible, and defray its expenses by means of a monopoly mainly operative in the far north beyond the forty-sixth. To control from a site near Florida a traffic extending from his own northern boundary pretty well up to Labrador must prove a somewhat difficult problem.

For the past year, aided by those opportune confiscations, Pont-gravé and other skilful captains enabled the company to show a balanced account. The profits of the trade began to fall, while the expenses of the company sensibly increased. While the "King's Geographer" received his modest stipend from his royal master, the explorations "towards the fortieth" were at the company's expense. Building at St. Croix and the re-building at Port Royal were costly operations. Finally to complete the financial ruin of the syndicate, two adverse strokes followed each other in quick succession. The anti-monopolists determined to hoist the flag of open defiance. The company was unable, notwithstanding that de Monts held the title of Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, to protect its franchise, especially when, like the stars fighting against Sisera, a number of Dutch vessels sailed up the St. Lawrence, and robbed the storehouses of the company. The next blow was the fatal one. The supreme Council of the realm cancelled "the Writ of Prohibition" and trade was free for all.

According to Lescarbot, the charges on which the cancellation of the monopoly, seven years before its specified expiration, was based were somewhat as follows: (1) Through the operation of the monopoly the price of beaver skins had been sensibly appreciated; (2) the trade rights established by the uninterrupted usage of many years had been violated, especially to the prejudice of the Basque fur-traders; and (3) not a single pagan savage had been converted to Christianity. These apparently formal counts are, it must be remembered, the representations of an enthusiastic upholder of the monopoly. Probably the case of the anti-monopolists or "free-traders" as actually presented to the King and Council was put in a more compelling shape. Lescarbot retorts to the allegation that the monopoly had raised the price of beaver skins by claiming that the precise

reverse was the case, beaver skins having gone up the moment the Writ of Prohibition became ineffective. The anti-monopoly cry was really engineered by the hat-making guilds—beaver hats were all the rage—manoeuvring to get the supply under their own control. His general view was that the merchants outside the monopolistic ring, who wished to get for themselves a fair share of the traffic in furs, were acting in a most unpatriotic and unchristian manner. He assumes that the defunct company was a missionary society, that a man who bought a beaver skin which should have gone to swell the profits of de Monts was next thing to a traitor and infidel, that the monopoly was a happily devised instrumentality for converting the Indians. Taking this view of the matter he indulges in high heroics:

"Yet I find that in the end he may be forced to give it all up, to the great scandal and reproach of the French name, which by said conduct is made a laughing-stock and a by word among the nations. For as though their wish was to oppose the conversion of these poor western peoples, and the glory of God and of the King, we find a set of men full of avarice and envy, who would not draw a sword in the service of the King, nor suffer the slightest ill in the world for the honor of God, but who yet put obstacles in the way of our drawing any profit from the province, even in order to furnish what is indispensable to the foundation to such an enterprise; men who prefer to see the English and Dutch win possession of it rather than the French, and would fain have the name of God remain unknown in those quarters. And it is such godless people, who are listened to, who are believed, and who win their suits."

Had things turned out otherwise, had the subscribers to the syndicate stock, instead of losing 90,000 livres, made that sum in clear profit, as they were assured they would do when asked to subscribe, what would all Lescarbot's lofty idealism have amounted to?

Of the gentlemen who crossed with de Monts in 1604, the Jonas brought back to France at most but four, Poutrincourt himself, Champlain, Champdoré and de Vitré, though the latter's name is not specifically mentioned among the returning voyagers. From the beginning the expedition had presented somewhat the appearance of a series of dissolving views. Poutrincourt and Ralleau dropped

out at St. Croix. De Monts administered the government in person for a year at St. Croix and then returned to France for good. Pontgravé was induced to drop fur-trading and take charge at Port Royal for the first year's residence there. For the second the services of Poutrincourt were with difficulty secured. The only members of the original company who stuck to their posts during the entire period of three years and three months intervening between the settlement of St. Croix and the evacuation of Port Royal were Champlain and Champdoré. It was long assumed that except in the case of Poutrincourt, who without delay sought and obtained from the King a ratification of de Monts' personal grant and who returned there in 1610 to take actual possession, all connection of the above named gentlemen with Port Royal ceased forever.

On the return of the Jonas, with Champlain on board, de Monts applied himself with all energy to obtain a renewal of his revoked monopoly, which it may be recalled, had covered not only the whole extent of his grant but all the shores of the St. Lawrence Gulf and River. The King moved to pity by the representations and appeals of de Monts, supported as they were by influential friends like Champlain, considerably yielded so far as to renew the monopoly for a single year. De Monts and his associated capitalists were enabled to continue business on a limited scale, seeing that the renewal and upkeep of a colony was no longer on their hands. It was under this renewed monopoly that with de Monts as nominal head of the new company, Champlain and Pontgravé, resumed explorations—soon leading to settlement—of the St. Lawrence.

At about the same date—the spring of 1608—de Monts despatched another vessel under the command of Champdoré, with his secretary Ralleau on board as adviser, perhaps simply to make inquiries into the state of affairs at his deserted colony of Port Royal, but perhaps with further objects in view. Though the precise object and full movements of this voyage are somewhat obscure, it is a fact which cannot be questioned. Champlain does not mention it otherwise than by quoting from Lescarbot's account, assigning it to an indefinite date, and carefully omitting to name his *bête noir* Champdoré in connection with it. An eminent authority on Acadian affairs¹ does

¹ Rev. B. F. De Costa of New York.

not hesitate to ascribe unworthy motives for Champlain's course in this matter: "In Champlain's narrative, Champdoré is traduced and denied his proper place, owing clearly to the jealousy excited by his merits. Champlain says he was a good carpenter; but he must have been something more, in order to hold his place as pilot and navigator for a period of three years, and to be entrusted with an independent expedition in the fourth. Champlain, perhaps, felt that his appointment, after a long trial, to this responsible post, formed a sarcasm upon his attempts to cheapen Champdoré's merits, and he does not allude either to his appointment or his voyage. Lescarbot, however, recognises Champdoré's services, also addressing a sonnet to him, as *Pierre Angibaut dit Champ-doré Capitaine de Marine en la Nouvelle France*."

The failure of our early English writers to take note of this voyage, partially explained as it is by the neglect of Champlain to present it in full light, has a further explanation. The main facts are stated as far as known by Lescarbot in the three earlier editions of his History. For some reason while the subject remains in the title of the chapter in the last and best known edition, the account itself is omitted. It contains interesting reports of visits to Port Royal and the St. John River.¹

"The said ship, being returned, we have had report by Monsieur de Champdoré, and others, of the condition of the country we had left, and the wonderful beauty of the corn that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had sown before his departure, together with the grains that have fallen in the gardens which have grown incredibly. Membertou gathered six or seven barrels of the corn that we had sown, and still had one left, which he reserved for the French whom he expected."

The following is a report given of the river St. John:

"This river is one of the fairest that may be seen, having many islands and abounding in fish. This last year, 1608, the said Monsieur de Champdoré, with one of the said de Monts' men, has been some fifty leagues up the said river, and testify that there is a great quantity of vines along the shore, though the grapes are not so large as in the country of Armouchiquois. There are also onions and many

¹ This is the passage which Champlain quotes with some abbreviation.

other good herbs. As regards the trees, they are the finest to be seen. When we were there we saw a great number of cedar trees. In regard to the fish Champdoré has told us, that, putting the kettle over the fire, they had taken fish enough for dinner before the water was hot. Besides, this river, stretching as it does far within the land of the savages, greatly shortens the long journeys."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

CHAMPLAIN'S JOURNAL OF VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.

(1604-7).

Passages quoted are from the translation by Otis in the Prince Society's Publications.

The passages which follow from Champlain's *Voyages* and Les-carbot's *History*, besides supplying special information of value, fairly illustrate the characteristic differences of their authors in respect to style, topics, and points of view. Champlain was a scientific investigator; in a more technical sense, an explorer, discoverer and hydrographer. His writings are mainly records of phenomena observed, analysed, and classified. He was not an historian except in a minor sense of that elastic and comprehensive term. His larger and more formal books he appropriately called "*Voyages*,"—for in voyages of exploration and discovery no small part of his laborious life was spent. Throughout all that he wrote there shines conspicuously clear his desire to preserve as accurate a register as possible of the facts and the phenomena, first hand knowledge of which it was his privilege to communicate to others. When he is stating the results of his own observations, we can always trust him; if we find him unworthy of our confidence, it is when he is conveying to us the testimony of those who are not as truthful and honest as himself. His narrative is generally clear, sparingly adorned with literary embellishment, but sometimes varied with a dash of quiet humor. His throwing Les-carbot into a fit of passion by a simple allusion to the limited scope to which the latter's travels were confined, is a most skilful and

effective side-thrust. The journal which records his experiences at St. Croix and Port Royal and in exploring the New England coast, as respects both intrinsic interest and literary quality, takes high rank among his Voyages.

There is so marked a contrast between the writings of Champlain and Lescarbot—the two so-called historians of the first Acadian enterprise—as to make a formal comparison easy. The one writer was almost everything that the other was not, saving that both were honest lovers of the truth. Champlain in his composition as in his personality was sedate, sober, serious, self-restrained, dominated by a few controlling ideas, and aiming at the accomplishment of a few definite aims. As he was, so he wrote. Lescarbot was a lawyer by profession, but just how “learned in the law,” we are not informed. He, however, was a man of parts, quick witted, vivacious, well-mannered, inclined to take life easy, and somewhat vain of his accomplishments. These personal characteristics naturally reflect themselves in his writings. He was as might be expected the life and soul of the little party at Port Royal, though his personal relations with Champlain did not become intimate. All are surprised to find that he did not invent *L'Ordre de Bon Temps*—this glory he himself ascribes to Champlain—but we feel quite sure that Champlain's part in the play was but rudimentary, and that the famous Order received its more elaborate touches from the prattling, but ingenious and resourceful young lawyer.

Before leaving France, Lescarbot, who somehow had received a good education, had written several poems and had also on rather important occasions, delivered two Latin orations, for he was an excellent Latin scholar. Since coming to Port Royal, he had, when once the festivities of the dining hall were over, written several additional poems destined to grace “The Muses of New France.” The novelty and other features of the situation at Port Royal suggested to him the propriety of taking notes for some permanent record of the strange events through which he was passing. The suggestion ultimately ripened into “The History of New France by Marc Lescarbot.” It is only the fourth chapter of the fourth Book of that work which concerns us. The other chapters of all the other books,

welded together, and sometimes quite unskilfully, out of already existing materials, are but a cheap iron casket manufactured to enclose a really precious jewel.

"Lescarbot, like Herodotus, whom he so much resembles, should be read in the original. Each tells his tale with that well-bred simplicity which marks the gentleman, with the same mixture of apparent credulity and keen sceptical intelligence. There is a touch of condescension in the professed deference with which each discusses some well-worn legend perhaps dear to his audience. . . . Try as we may to reproduce it, full success is impossible. One is heavy where the original is light; the quiet ease of the original becomes an affected simplicity in the translator."¹

Whether read in the original French or in the excellent translation of Professor Grant, Lescarbot's Acadian chapter is delightfully readable. It is not of uniform excellence either in style or matter. The reader is often asked to pardon "little digressions." Generally this pardon is freely extended, for the side-track does not take us too far away from the main road and introduces us to new and agreeable scenery. Sometimes, however, the digression cannot be called a "little one." This is conspicuously the case with the very long and very elaborate, and withal very absurd, excursus on the scurvy, with which the historian treats his readers. Much of it bears evidence of "cramming" in some medical library in Paris. Hippocrates, Galen, Strabo, Pliny and Olaus Magnus, are quoted from, or referred to, in illustration of this or that view of the pathology of the dread scourge. The causes are as numerous as the prophylactics and the remedies. The air, the winds, the water, and the soil of Acadia are severely arraigned as "concurrent causes." "September liquor" (wine) is an admirable specific. West and north-west exposures are to be avoided. Lescarbot noted that the rooms of the scurvy victims all fronted on the west.

The following statement indicates the successive steps in the process of literary estrangement between Champlain and Lescarbot. As the question of dates is important, it must be remembered that

¹From preface to the English translation of Lescarbot's *History of New France* by Prof. W. L. Grant, M. A. In the matter of rendering into English, Lescarbot has been much more fortunate than Herodotus.

Champlain's *Des Sauvages* (first St. Lawrence exploration) was published in 1604, the first edition of Lescarbot's History of New France in 1609, and the volume of Champlain's Voyages containing an account of the Acadian period, 1604-1607, in 1613. Before the causes and chronology of the quarrel was taken up, it may be well to state that Book III of the History of New France draws largely from *Des Sauvages* in the information which it supplies concerning the Laurentian shores and waters, though freely exercising the right to throw doubt upon its accuracy and to criticise it generally.

(1) In volume III, chapter 29, Lescarbot exposes to merciless ridicule Champlain's credulity in accepting in the closing pages of his *Des Sauvages* certain monstrous fictions sought to be imposed on him by a fellow-captain, Prevert of St. Malo: (2) In his Voyages from 1604 to 1610 (published in 1613), he intimates that Lescarbot when in Acadia had stayed within the encampment at Port Royal except for a short trip of fourteen or fifteen leagues. This taunt cut like a razor. Determined on revenge Lescarbot applied the *lex talionis* most vigorously: (3) As successive editions of the History of New France appeared after the publication of the 1613 volume of Voyages, changes of all kinds were freely made in quotation from, or allusion to, Champlain, and these changes invariably indicated diminished regard and appreciation. The most significant indication of this altered state of feeling is found in the dropping unceremoniously of all titles of respect. Up to the discovery of that fatal jibe, the great explorer uniformly figured in the History of New France as Sieur de Champlain, or Monsieur Champlain, or at any rate as M. Champlain. Henceforth, he is invariably Champlain, nothing more. Then criticisms on Champlain's style not found in the earlier editions make their appearance. The following quotation refers to information which the historian is borrowing from *Des Sauvages* relative to Tadousac and Saguenay: "Whereas, if, in giving the words of the author, one finds here and there a style less literary and smooth than ordinary, the reader will remember that I have not wished to make any change; though in truth I have struck out some trivialities." In addition to literary criticisms, there is more or less questioning of Champlain's accuracy in his geography,

estimates of distance, and cartographic delineation, in which authorities tell us the questioner himself is more often wrong than right.

It must be borne in mind that this literary quarrel entirely post-dated the Acadian episode. There is nothing in either's account of the year which they spent together as members of de Monts' company, to indicate close and sympathetic friendship, neither is there anything to suggest greater aloofness than would be natural where men are polar opposites in tastes and habits.

CHAMPLAIN'S JOURNAL OF VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES (1604-7)

THEY SIGHTED LAND.

On the 8th of the same month, we sighted Cap de la Hève, to the east of which is a bay, containing several islands covered with fir-trees. On the mainland are oaks, elms and birches. It joins the coast of La Cadie at the latitude of $44^{\circ} 5'$, and at $16^{\circ} 15'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle, distant east-north-east eighty-five leagues from Cape Breton, of which we shall speak hereafter.

On the 12th of May, we entered another port, five leagues from Cap de la Hève, where we captured a vessel engaged in the fur-trade in violation of the king's prohibition. The master's name was Rossignol, whose name the port retained, which is in latitude $44^{\circ} 15'$.

On the 13th of May, we arrived at a very fine harbour, where there are two little streams, called Port du Mouton, which is seven leagues distant from that of Rossignol. The land is very stony, and covered with copse and heath. There are a great many rabbits, and a quantity of game in consequence of the ponds there.

DISCOVERY OF PORT ROYAL (EXPLORERS START FROM ST. MARY'S BAY).

Some days after, Sieur de Monts decided to go and examine the coasts of Baye Francoise. For this purpose, he set out from the vessel on the 16th of May, and we went through the Strait of Long Island. Not having found in St. Mary's Bay any place in which to

fortify ourselves except at the cost of much time, we accordingly resolved to see whether there might not be a more favourable one in the other bay. Heading north-east six leagues, there is a cove where vessels can anchor in four, five, six and seven fathoms of water. The bottom is sandy. This place is only a kind of roadstead. Continuing two leagues farther on in the same direction, we entered one of the finest harbours I had seen along all these coasts, in which two thousand vessels might lie in security. The entrance is eight hundred paces broad; then you enter a harbour two leagues long and one broad, which I have named Port Royal. Three rivers empty into it, one of which is very large, extending eastward. This river is nearly a quarter of a league broad at its entrance, where there is an island perhaps half a league in circuit, and covered with wood like all the rest of the country, as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens, and some oaks, although the latter are found in small numbers in comparison with the other kinds. There are two entrances to the above river, one on the north, the other on the south side of the island. That on the north is the better, and vessels can there anchor under shelter of the island in five, six, seven, eight and nine fathoms. But it is necessary to be on one's guard against some shallows near the island, on the one side, and the mainland on the other, very dangerous, if one does not know the channel.

We ascended the river some fourteen or fifteen leagues, where the tide rises, and it is not navigable much farther. It has there a breadth of sixty paces, and about a fathom and a half of water. The country bordering the river is filled with numerous oaks, ashes and other trees. Between the mouth of the river and the point to which we ascended there are many meadows, which are flooded at the spring tides, many little streams traversing them from one side to the other, through which shallows and boats can go at full tide. This place was the most favorable and agreeable for a settlement that we had seen.

SEARCH FOR COPPER AT PORT DES MINES (ADVOCATE HARBOR).

(EXPLORERS SAIL FROM ISLE HAUTE).

Thence we proceeded to a harbour a league and a half distant, where we supposed the copper mine was, which a certain Prevert of St. Malo had discovered by aid of the savages of the country. This port is in latitude $45^{\circ} 40'$, and is dry at low tide. In order to enter it, it is necessary to place beacons, and mark out a sand-bank at the entrance, which borders a channel that extends along the main land. Then you enter a bay nearly a league in length, and half a league in breadth. In some places, the bottom is oozy and sandy, where many vessels may get aground. The sea falls and rises there to the extent of four or five fathoms. We landed to see whether we could find the mines which Prevert had reported to us. Having gone about a quarter of a league along certain mountains, we found none, nor did we recognize any resemblance to the description of the harbour he had given us. Accordingly, he had not himself been there, but probably two or three of his men had been there, guided by some savages, partly by land and partly by little streams, while he awaited him in his shallop at the mouth of a little river in the Bay of St. Lawrence. These men, upon their return, brought him several small pieces of copper, which he showed us when he returned from his voyage. Nevertheless, we found in this harbour two mines of what seemed to be copper, according to the report of our miner, who considered it very good, although it was not native copper.

DESCRIPTION OF ST. CROIX ISLAND.

The island is covered with firs, birches, maples and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for about forty paces it is lower than elsewhere; this, however, is easily fortified, the banks of the main land being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces. Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the

location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time, and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by *Sieur de Monts* the Island of *St. Croix*.

ANOTHER SEARCH FOR COPPER.

(*CHAMPLAIN* STARTED FROM *ST. CROIX*).

Some days after, *Sieur de Monts* determined to ascertain where the mine of pure copper was which we had searched for so much. With this object in view, he despatched me together with a savage named *Messamouet*, who asserted that he knew the place well. I set out in a small barque of five or six tons, with nine sailors. Some eight leagues from the island, toward the river *St. John*, we found a mine of copper which was not pure, yet fairly good according to the report of the miner, who said that it would yield eighteen per cent. Farther on we found others inferior to this. When we reached the place where we supposed that was which we were hunting for, the savage could not find it, so that it was necessary to come back, leaving the search for another time.

WINTER AT *ST. CROIX*.

During this winter, all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound. The cause of this loss was that there were no cellars to our storehouse, and that the air which entered by the cracks was sharper than that outside. We were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks; for it was not possible to go to the main land in consequence of the great pieces of ice drifted by the tide, which varies three

fathoms between low and high water. Work on the hand-mill was very fatiguing, since the most of us, having slept poorly, and suffering from insufficiency of fuel, which we could not obtain on account of the ice, had scarcely any strength, and also because we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produce bad blood. The latter circumstance was, in my opinion, a partial cause of these dreadful maladies. All this produced discontent in *Sieur de Monts* and others of the settlement.

It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for, on arriving here in summer, every thing is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country, and the many varieties of good fish which are found there. There are six months of winter in this country.

ST. CROIX EXCHANGED FOR PORT ROYAL.

Sieur de Monts determined to change his location, and make another settlement, in order to avoid the severe cold and the bad winter which we had in the Island of *St. Croix*. As we had not up to that time found any suitable harbour, and, in view of the short time we had for building houses in which to establish ourselves, we fitted out two barques, and loaded them with the frame-work taken from the houses of *St. Croix*, in order to transport it to *Port Royal*, twenty-five leagues distant, where we thought the climate was much more temperate and agreeable. *Pont-Gravé* and I set out for that place; and, having arrived, we looked for a site favourable for our residence, under shelter from the north-west wind, which we dreaded, having been very much harassed by it.

After searching carefully in all directions, we found no place more suitable and better situated than one slightly elevated, about which there are some marshes and good springs of water. This place is opposite the island at the mouth of the river *Equille*. To the north of us about a league, there is a range of mountains, extending nearly ten leagues in a north-east and south-west direction. The whole country is filled with thick forests, as I mentioned above, except at

a point a league and a half up the river, where there are some oaks, although scattering, and many wild vines, which one could easily remove and put the soil under cultivation, notwithstanding it is light and sandy. We had almost resolved to build there; but the consideration that we should have been too far up the harbour and river led us to change our mind.¹

SHIPWRECK IN DIGBY GUT: CHAMPDORÉ SEVERELY DEALT WITH, BUT
SHOWS NO RESENTMENT.

The next morning before day, Champdoré came to ask Pont Gravé if he wished to have the anchor raised, who replied in the affirmative, if he deemed the weather favourable for setting out. Upon this, Champdoré had the anchor raised at once, and the sail spread to the wind, which was north-north-east, according to his report. The weather was thick and rainy, and the air full of fog, with indications of foul rather than fair weather.

While going out of the mouth of the harbour, we were suddenly carried by the tide out of the passage, and, before perceiving them, were driven upon the rocks on the east-north-east coast. Pont Gravé and I, who were asleep, were awaked by hearing the sailors shouting and exclaiming, "We are lost!" which brought me quickly to my feet, to see what was the matter. Pont Gravé was still ill, which prevented him from rising as quickly as he wished. I was scarcely on deck, when the barque was thrown upon the coast; and the wind, which was north, drove us upon a point. We unfurled the mainsail, turned it to the wind, and hauled it up high as we could, that it might drive us up as far as possible on the rocks, for fear that the reflux of the sea, which fortunately was falling, would draw us in, when it would have been impossible to save ourselves. At the first blow of our boat upon the rocks, the rudder broke, a part of the keel and three or four planks were smashed, and some ribs stove in, which frightened us, for our barque filled immediately; and all that we could do was to wait until the sea fell, so that we might get ashore. For,

¹The place referred to became the site of the historical Port Royal, now Annapolis Royal.

otherwise, we were in danger of our lives, in consequence of the swell, which was very high and furious about us. The sea having fallen we went on shore amid the storm, when the barque was speedily unloaded, and we saved a large portion of the provisions in her, with the help of the savage—Chief Secondon and his companions, who came to us with their canoes, to carry to our habitation what we had saved from our barque, which, all shattered as she was, went to pieces at return of the tide. But we, most happy at having saved our lives, returned to our settlement with our poor savages, who stayed there a great part of the winter; and we praised God for having rescued us from this shipwreck, from which we had not expected to escape so easily.

Pont Gravé, having arrived at the settlement, received the evidence against Champdoré, who was accused of having run the barque on shore with evil intent. Upon such information, he was imprisoned and handcuffed, with the intention of taking him to France and handing him over to *Sieur de Monts*, to be treated as justice might direct.

On the 15th of June, Pont Gravé, finding that the vessels did not return from France, had the handcuffs taken off from Champdoré, that he might finish the barque which was on the stocks, which service he discharged very well.

CHAMPDORE STILL FURTHER REPAYS GOOD FOR EVIL.

On the 21st of the month there was a violent wind, which broke the irons of our rudder between Long Island and Cape Fourchú, and reduced us to such extremities that we were at a loss what to do. For the fury of the sea did not permit us to land, since the breakers ran mountain high along the coast, so that we resolved to perish in the sea rather than to land, hoping that the wind and tempest would abate, for that, with the wind astern, we might go ashore on some sandy beach. As each one thought by himself what might be done for our preservation, a sailor said that a quantity of cordage attached to the stern of our barque, and dragging in the water, might serve in some measure to steer our vessel. But this was of no avail; and we saw

that, unless God should aid us by other means, this would not prevent us from shipwreck. As we were thinking what could be done for our safety, Champdoré, who had again been handcuffed, said to some of us, that, if Pont Gragé desired it, he would find means to steer our barque. This we reported to Pont Gragé, who did not refuse this offer, and the rest of us still less. He accordingly had his handcuffs taken off the second time, and at once taking a rope, he cut it and fastened the rudder with it in such a skilful manner that it would steer the ship as well as ever. In this way he made amends for the mistakes he had made leading to the loss of the previous barque, and was discharged from his accusation through our entreaties to Pont Gragé who, although somewhat reluctantly, acceded to it.

SIEUR DE POUTRINCOURT NEARLY TUMBLES OFF CAPE SPLIT.

While awaiting the return of Chevalier, Sieur de Poutrincourt went to the head of Baye Francoise in a shallop with seven or eight men. Leaving the harbour and heading north-east a quarter east for some twenty-five leagues along the coast, we arrived at a cape where Sieur de Poutrincourt desired to ascend a cliff more than thirty fathoms high, in doing which he came near losing his life. For, having reached the top of the rock which is very narrow, and which he had ascended with much difficulty, the summit trembled beneath him. The reason was that, in course of time, moss had gathered there four or five feet in thickness, and, not being solid, trembled when one was on top of it, and very often when one stepped on a stone three or four others fell down. Accordingly, having gone up with difficulty, he experienced still greater when coming down, although some sailors, men very dexterous in climbing, carried him a hawser, a rope of medium size, by means of which he descended. This place was named Cap de Poutrincourt, and is in latitude $45^{\circ} 40'$.¹

¹ Afterwards Cape Fendu, Anglice Cape Split.

CHAMPLAIN AND POUTRINCOURT HASTILY EXPLORE THE
BASIN OF MINAS.

We went as far as the head of this bay, but saw nothing but certain white stones suitable for making lime, yet they are found only in small quantities. We saw also on some islands a great number of gulls. We captured as many of them as we wished. We made the tour of the bay, in order to go to the Port des Mines where I had previously been, and whither I conducted *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, who collected some little pieces of copper with great difficulty. All this bay has a circuit of perhaps twenty leagues, with a little river at its head, which is very sluggish and contains but little water. There are many other little brooks, and some places where there are good harbours at high tide, which rises here five fathoms. In one of these harbours three or four leagues north of *Cap de Poutrincourt*, we found a very old cross all covered with moss and almost all rotten, a plain indication that before this there had been Christians there.¹ All this country is covered with dense forests, and with some exceptions is not very attractive.

HOMEWARD BOUND.

Departing from *Cap de la Héve*, we went as far as *Sesambre*,² an island so called by some people from *St. Malo*, and distant fifteen leagues from *La Héve*. Along the route are a large number of islands, which we named *Les Martyres*, since some Frenchmen were once killed here by the savages. These islands lie in several inlets and bays. In one of them is a river named *St. Marguerite*,³ distant seven leagues from *Sesambre*, which is in latitude $44^{\circ} 25'$. The islands and coasts are thickly covered with pines, firs, birches, and other trees of inferior quality. Fish and also fowl are abundant.

¹ Champlain has evidently got things mixed here. "Three or four leagues north of Cape Split" would be in the interior of the *Panishoto* District, *Cambridgeshire* County. The whole account of the beautiful basin is confused and unsatisfactory. Neither the *Avon* nor the *Shubenacadie* is a "little river."

² *Sambro*.

³ *St. Margaret's Bay*.

After leaving Sesambre, we passed a bay which is unobstructed, of seven or eight leagues in extent, with no islands except at the extremity, where is the mouth of a small river, containing but little water.¹

From this place to the Island of Cape Breton, which is in latitude $45^{\circ} 45'$ and $14^{\circ} 50'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle, it is eight leagues, and to Cape Breton twenty-five. Between the two there is a large bay, extending some nine or ten leagues into the interior and making a passage between the Island of Cape Breton and the main land through to the great Bay of St. Lawrence, by which they go to Gaspé and Isle Percée, where fishing is carried on. This passage along the island of Cape Breton is very narrow. Although there is water enough, large vessels do not pass there at all on account of the strong currents and the impetuosity of the tides which prevail. This we named Le Passage Courant, and it is in latitude $45^{\circ} 45'$.

The Island of Cape Breton is of triangular shape, with a circuit of about eighty leagues. Most of the country is mountainous, yet in some part very pleasant. In the centre of it there is a kind of lake, where the sea enters by the north a quarter north-west and also by the south a quarter south-east. Here are many islands filled with plenty of game, and shell-fish of various kinds, including oysters, which, however, are not of very good flavour. In this place there are two harbours, where fishing is carried on; namely Le Port aux Anglois, distant from Cape Breton some two or three leagues, and Niganis, eighteen or twenty leagues north a quarter north-west. The Portuguese once made an attempt to settle this island and spent a winter here; but the inclemency of the season and the cold caused them to abandon their settlement.

On the 3rd of September, we set out from Canseau. On the 4th we were off Sable Island. On the 6th, we reached the Grand Bank, where the catching of green fish is carried on, in latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$. On the 26th we entered the sound near the shores of Brittany and England in sixty-five fathoms of water and in latitude $49^{\circ} 30'$. On the 28th, we put in at Roscou, in lower Brittany, where we were detained by bad weather until the last day of September, when, the wind

¹ Halifax Harbour.

coming around favourable, we put to sea in order to pursue our route to St. Malo, which formed the termination of these voyages, in which God had guided us without shipwreck or danger.

(FROM VOYAGES—1614.)

CHAMPLAIN'S OPTIMISM.

To the very high, powerful, and excellent Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Conde, First Prince of the Blood, First Peer of France, Governor and Lieutenant of His Majesty in Guienne:

Monseigneur—The honor that I have received from your Highness on being entrusted with the discovery of New France has inspired in me the desire to pursue with still greater pains and zeal than ever the search for the North Sea. With this object in view I have made a voyage during the past year, 1613, relying on a man whom I had sent there, and who assured me he had seen it, as you will perceive in this brief narrative which I venture to present to your Excellence, and in which are particularly described all the toils and sufferings I have had in the undertaking. But although I regret having lost this year so far as the man and object is concerned, yet my expectation, as in the first voyage, of obtaining more definite information respecting the subject from the savages, has been fulfilled. They have told me about various lakes and rivers in the north, in view of which, aside from their assurance that they know of this sea, it seems to me easy to conclude from the maps that it cannot be far from the farthest discoveries I have hitherto made. Awaiting a favorable time and opportunity to prosecute my plans, and praying God to preserve you, most happy Prince, in all prosperity, wherein consists my highest wish for your greatness, I remain in the quality of

Your most humble and devoted servant,

SAMUEL D. CHAMPLAIN.

EXTRACTS FROM LESCARBOT'S HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE.

(Book 2, Chapter 4.)

(Passages quoted are from the English translation of Lescarbot by W. L. Grant, M. A., Professor of Colonial History in Queen's University, Kingston, Can.)

COMPARISON OF THE MINE AND THE FARM.

Leaving Port Royal they set sail for the copper mine of which we have already spoken. It is a high rock, between two bays of the sea, where one finds embedded in the stone very beautiful and very pure copper, resembling that which is called rose-copper. Several goldsmiths in France who have seen it said that beneath the copper there might well be gold-quartz. But it is not yet the season to fritter away one's time in looking for it. The first mine is to have bread and wine and cattle, as we pointed out at the beginning of this history. Our good fortune does not lie in mines, especially of gold and silver, which are of no use in the tillage of the soil, nor in the exercise of handicrafts. On the contrary their abundance is but a load, a burden, which keeps man in continual unrest, so that the more gold he has, the less he has of quiet, and the less security of life.

CRITICISM OF THE SITE AT ST. CROIX ISLAND.

It is not my business to inquire minutely into the reasons which led this man or that to decide upon this spot, but I shall always be of opinion that any man who goes into a country to possess it should not settle down in islands to make himself a prisoner therein. For before everything else one must set before oneself the tillage of the soil. And I should like to ask how it is to be tilled if at all hours, morning, noon, and night, one must painfully cross a wide expanse of water to seek whatever may be required from the mainland? If

an enemy is expected, how shall the man at work in the field, or at anything else where necessity takes him, escape if pursued? For one does not always find a boat in the nick of time, or two men to row it. Moreover, our life having need of many commodities, an island is not a good place in which to begin the establishment of a Colony, unless there are springs of fresh water for drinking and household purposes and these are not found in small islands. One must have wood for fuel, and this also is not to be found there. And above all one must have shelter from harsh winds and from the cold, and this can hardly be found in a small space surrounded on all sides by water. Nevertheless the company settled there in the middle of a wide river, where the north and north-west winds beat at will.

Having done the things of greatest urgency, and grey-bearded father Winter having come, they needs must keep indoors, and live every man under his own roof-tree. During this time our friends had three special discomforts on this island, to wit, want of wood (for that on the said island had been used for the buildings), want of fresh water, and the night watch for fear of a surprise from the Indians who were encamped at the foot of the said island, or from some other enemy; for such is the evil disposition and fury of some Christians that one must be more on one's guard against them than against the infidel. This it grieveth me to say; would indeed that I were a liar herein, and that I had no cause to speak it. Thus when wood and water were required they were constrained to cross the river, which on either side is more than three times as broad as the Seine at Paris. This was both painful and tedious; so that very often one had to bespeak the boat a day in advance before being able to get the use of it. On top of this came cold and snow and frost so hard that the cider froze in the casks, and each man was given his portion by weight. As for wine, it was only given out on certain days of the week. Some lazy fellows drank melted snow without troubling to cross the river. In short, unknown diseases broke out, like those which Captain Jacques Cartier has already described to us, of which for fear of vain repetition I shall therefore not give an account.

PLEASANT PERSONAL REFLECTIONS.

As for mental toil, I had plenty of it. For in the evening after all had gone to their rooms amid cackle, noise, and din, I shut myself up in my study to read or write. And I am not ashamed to say that when asked by our leader, M. de Poutrincourt, to bestow some hours of my toil in giving Christian teaching to our little folk, that they might not live as beasts, and might set to the savage an example of our manner of life, I did so, since it was necessary, and I had been requested, regularly on Sundays and sometimes on other occasions, almost the whole time we were there. And it was well that I had brought my Bible and some books, though without thought of this; for otherwise such a charge would have been very difficult, and would have caused me to excuse myself. Nor was my labour without fruit, many bearing me witness that never had they heard such a good exposition of Divine things, and that previously they had not known a single principle of our Christian Doctrine, in which state indeed the greater part of Christendom is living.

PROPHYLACTICS AGAINST A SCURVY.

It is an obvious axiom that opposites must be cured by opposites. Therefore, as this complaint arises by failure to digest heavy, gross and chill and bilious meats which offend the stomach, I think it wise, subject always to correction, to accompany them by sauces, whether of butter, oil, or lard, the whole well seasoned, in order to offset both the quality of the food and the internal cold of the body. This refers to heavy, coarse food, such as beans, peas, and fish. For he who eats capons, partridges, ducks, rabbits, may rest assured of his health, unless his constitution is but weak. We have had patients who were restored from death to life, or nearly so, after two or three doses of chicken-broth. Good wine, taken in such quantities as nature craves, is a sovereign specific against all complaints, this one in particular. Messrs. Macquin and Georges, honourable merchants of La Rochelle, partners of M. de Monts, had furnished us with forty-five hogs-

heads on our voyage, which by no means came in amiss. And our patients, even though their mouths were sore, and they could not eat, never lost their taste for wine, but took it through a spout, which saved several from death. The tender herbs of springtime are also a sovereign remedy. This is not only in accordance with reason, but I have tried it, often going myself to gather them in the woods for our patients before those in our gardens were fit for use, and this revived their appetite and comforted their weak stomachs.

But an excellent prophylactic against this rascally and treacherous complaint, which steals on us insensibly, but once it has gripped us will not be put out, is to follow the counsel of the wisest of men, who having considered all the afflictions which a man gives himself during his life, found nothing better for a man than "to rejoice and to do good in his life, and to rejoice in his own works." Those of our Company who behaved thus fared well, while on the contrary some who were continually grumbling, finding fault, discontented do-nothings, were seized. Certainly in order to enjoy mirth it is well to have such delicacies as fresh meat, flesh, fish, milk, butter, oil, fruit, and such like, which we had not at will; at least the common sort, for at the table of M. de Poutrincourt, one of the party always brought in some game or venison or fresh fish. And if we only had half-a-dozen cows, I believe that not one of us would have died.

One further preservative is necessary to complete a man's content and to fill up his pleasure in his daily task, which is that each man should have the honourable company of his married wife; for if that be lacking the good cheer is not complete, one's thoughts turn ever to the object of one's love and desire, homesickness arises, the body becomes full of ill-humours, and disease makes its entrance.

And, as a last and sovereign remedy, I refer the patient to the tree of life, for so one may well call it, which Jacques Cartier, as above stated, calls *Annedda*,¹ which is not yet known on the coast of Port Royal, unless perchance it might be the *Sassafras*, which grows abundantly in the land of the *Armouchiquois*, a hundred leagues from Port Royal. And certain it is that this tree is very sovereign thereto.

¹ Generally supposed to be the white spruce. Champlain, on one of the rivers of Maine, fell in with an Indian whose name was identical with that of this historical tree, and was inclined to connect him in some way with the Indians who sixty years before had given the saving decoction to Jacques Cartier.

COUNTRY AROUND PORT ROYAL. SCRIPTURAL ILLUSTRATIONS AND
ADDITIONAL EULOGIES ON FARMING.

Now in the land of which we speak the trees are less thick at a distance from the banks and swampy parts, and the happiness to be expected therefrom is the greater in that it is like unto the land which God promised to His people by the mouth of Moses, saying: "The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass" (Dueteronomy VIII. 7, 9). And further on, confirming the promise of the goodness and of the situation of the land which he should give them, he says: "The land whither thou goest in to possess it is not as the land of Egypt from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land, whither ye go in to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven" (Dueteronomy XI. 10, 11).

Let us go back to our farming, for this must be our goal. That is the first mine for which we must search, and is better worth than the treasures of Atahualpa; for whoso has corn, wine, cattle, linen, cloth, leather, iron, and, lastly, cod-fish, need have naught to do with treasure for the necessities of life. Now, all these are, or could be, produced in the land which we describe; wherein M. de Poutrincourt had ordered a second tillage to be made a fortnight later and I the same, we sowed our French grains, both wheat and rye; and a week later he saw that his labour was not in vain, but gave him good hope, by the production which the earth had already brought forth from the seeds which she had received.

PLENTY TO EAT AND DRINK AT PORT ROYAL.

As for ourselves, we had at our table one of M. de Monts' men, who provided us so well that we had no lack, bringing us sometimes

half-a-dozen bustards, sometimes as many ducks or wild geese, both white and grey, very often two or three dozen larks, and other sorts of birds. No one lacked bread, and each had three half pints of good and pure wine a day. This lasted as long as we were there, save that when those who came to fetch us, instead of bringing us supplies, had aided us to empty our casks, as we shall relate again further on, we were forced to reduce the ration to a pint. Yet even so an extra supply was frequently served out. In this regard this voyage was the best of all, for which we owe much praise to the said M. de Monts and his partners, Messrs. Macquin and Georges of Rochelle, who made such honourable provision for us. For in truth I hold that this September liquor is, among its other uses, a sovereign prophylactic against the ravages of scurvy; and spiceries correct the unhealthiness which the air of this region perchance contains, though I have always found it very pure and fine, notwithstanding the reasons on which I may have already touched in speaking of the above malady. For our rations we had peas, beans, rice, prunes, rasins, dried cod, and salt meat, besides oil and butter.

POUTRINCOURT WELCOMED ON HIS RETURN FROM AN
EXPLORING VOYAGE.

After many perils which I shall not compare to those of Ulysses or of Aeneas, lest I stain our holy voyages amid such impurity, M. de Poutrincourt reached Port Royal on November 14th, where we received him joyously and with a ceremony absolutely new on that side of the ocean. For about the time we were expecting his return, whereof we had great desire, the more so that if evil had come upon him we had been in danger of a mutiny, I bethought me to go out to meet him with some jovial spectacle, which we did. And since it was written in French rhymes, made hastily, I have placed it among the *Muses of New France*, under the title of "Neptune's Theatre," to which I refer the reader. Furthermore, to give the greater honor to his return and our share therein, we had set up above the gate of our fort the arms of France, encircled with crowns of laurel of which there is an abundance along the edges of the wood, with the King's



motto, "Duo protegit unus." And underneath the arms of M. de Monts, with this inscription: "Dabit Deus his quoque finem," and those of M. de Poutrincourt with this other inscription: "Invia virtuti nulla est via," both also crowned with laurel chaplets.

BAD NEWS.

The sun was beginning to warm the earth and to cast amorous eyes upon his mistress when Sagamos Membertou came to apprise us that he had seen a sail on the lake (that is to say, in the harbour), which was coming towards our fort. It was the hour when we had made our solemn prayers to God and distributed breakfast to the people, as was our custom. At this joyous news all ran to see, but not one was found with such good sight as he, though he be above an hundred years old. However, we soon saw what it was, and M. de Poutrincourt had the little boat hastily made ready to find out more about them. Champdoré and Daniel Hay went in her, and being certain, from the signals that they made us, that the newcomers were friends, we speedily loaded four cannons and a dozen falconets, to salute our visitors who had come so far. They for their part did not fail to lead off the banquet and to discharge their pieces, an honour which we returned with usury. It proved to be only a small merchant vessel under the charge of a young man from St. Malo, named Chevalier, who on his arrival at the fort gave his letters to M. de Poutrincourt, which were read aloud before us all. He was informed that to lessen the expenses of the voyage, the ship (which was still the *Jonas*) would stay at the harbour of Canso to fish for cod, the merchants who were partners of M. de Monts not knowing that the fishing extended beyond this spot; however, if it should be necessary, he was empowered to order the said ship to proceed to Port Royal. Moreover, that the company had been dissolved, because, contrary to honour and duty, the Dutch, who owe so much to France, had during the preceding year, led by a French traitor named La Jeunesse, carried off the beaver and other furs from the great river of Canada, which resulted in great loss to the company, which in consequence could no longer furnish the charges of the colony in these

parts, as it had previously done. Further, that at the King's Council, to ruin this enterprise, the monopoly granted for ten years to M. de Monts had recently been revoked, a blow wholly unexpected. And for this reason no one had been sent to dwell there in our place. If we were joyous to see our own succor assured, we were also greatly saddened to see so holy and fair an enterprise frustrated, whereby so many labours and perils past were made of no avail, and the hope of planting there the name of God and the Catholic faith vanished into air. Nevertheless, M. de Poutrincourt, after long musing on the matter, declared that though he were to come along with his family, he would not abandon the venture.

VISIT TO ST. CROIX.

On our arrival at the said island of St. Croix, we found the buildings which had been left quite whole, save that there was a gap in one side of the store-house. We found some Spanish wine still remaining at the bottom of a pipe, whereof we drank and found it very little the worse. As for the gardens, we found therein cablages, sorrel and lettuce, which went to fill the pot. We also made excellent pasties of wood-pigeons, which are found in large numbers in the woods, but the grass is so long that one could not find them when they were killed and had fallen to earth. The courtyard was full of unbroken casks, which some unprincipled sailors burnt for their pleasure, a sight which filled me with disgust, and confirmed my previous opinion that, from a human point of view at least, the savages were more humane and more honorable than many of those who bear the name of Christians; for during these years they had spared this spot, and had not even taken a stick of wood, nor any of the salt, which was there in large quantities and as hard as a stone.

PORT MOUTON TWO YEARS AFTER DE MONTS' FIRST LANDING.

After this calm we returned for two days into fog-land. On Sunday, the 23rd of said month, we caught sight of Port Rossignol, and

in the afternoon of the same day, in bright sunshine, we cast anchor at the entrance of Port Mouton, and were like to run aground, for we found ourselves in two fathoms and a half of water. We went on shore to the number of seventeen to get the wood and water which we needed, and there found still in good repair, the cabins and other buildings of M. de Monts, who had spent a month there two years before, as we have told in its proper place. In the two hours we were there we saw, growing in a sandy soil, many acorn-bearing oaks, cyresses, pines, laurels, moss roses, gooseberries, purslane, raspberries, ferns, *lysimachia* (a plant resembling scammony), *colamus odoratus*, angelica, and other plants. We carried off to our ship stores of wild-peas which we found excellent. They grow along the seashore and are covered by the tide twice a day. We had no time to hunt the rabbits, which are found in great numbers not far from the said harbour, but returned on board as soon as our load of wood and water was ready and set sail.

TRIP FROM PORT ROYAL TO CANSO ENROUTE TO FRANCE.

During this Cimmerian darkness, having one day anchored in the open sea, because of the night, our anchor dragged so that in the morning the tide had carried us among the islands, and I am surprised that we did not come to grief against a rock. However, for victuals we had no lack of fish, for in half-an-hour we could catch enough cod-fish for a fortnight, and those the fairest and fattest ever I saw, of the colour of a carp, which I have never seen elsewhere save in the neighborhood of the said Cape Sable, which we had passed. The tide, which here runs furiously, carried us in a twinkling as far as Lahave, when we thought we had only reached Port Mouton. There we remained two days, and in the very harbour used to see the cod nibbling at the hooks. We found there many red gooseberries, and copper ore in form of marcasite. Some bartering in furs was also carried on there with the savages.

Thenceforward we had favourable wind, and during this time it happened once that while on the prow I cried to our pilot Champdore that we were about to run aground, for I was sure I saw bot-

tom; but I was deceived by the rainbow, which appeared in the water with all its colours, and by the shadow made thereon by our fore-sail coming between it and the sun; for, gathering his rays in the hollow of the said sail, as he does in the clouds, these rays were forced to reverberate in the water and to produce this marvel. Finally, we arrived within four leagues of Canso, at a harbour where a fine old sailor from St. Jean de Luz, named Captain Savalet, was fishing. He received us with every possible courtesy, and, inasmuch as this harbour, which though small is excellent, has no name I have given it on my map the name of Savalet.¹ This worthy man told us that that voyage was his forty-second to these parts, and one must remember that these Newfoundlanders make but one a year. He was wondrous content with his fishing, and told us that he caught daily a good 50 crowns' worth of cod and that his voyage was worth to him ten thousand francs. He had sixteen men in his employ, and his vessel was of eighty tons' burden, and able to carry one hundred thousand dry fish.

ORDRE DE BON TEMPS.

To keep our table joyous and well provided, an order was established at the board of the said M. de Poutrincourt, which was called the Order of Good Cheer, originally proposed by Champlain. To this Order each man of the said table was appointed Chief Steward in his turn, which came around once a fortnight. Now, this person had the duty of taking care that we were all well and honorably provided for. This was so well carried out that though the epicures of Paris often tell us that we had no *Rue aux Ours* over there, as a rule we made as good cheer as we could have in this same *Rue aux Ours*, and at less cost. For there was no one who, two days before his turn came, failed to go hunting or fishing, and to bring back some delicacy in addition to our ordinary fare. So well was this carried out that never at breakfast did we lack some savory meat of flesh or fish, and still less at our midday or evening meals; for that was our chief banquet, at which the ruler of the feast or chief butler,

¹ Now Whitchaven.

whom the savages called Atootegic, having had everything prepared by the cook, marched in, napkin on shoulder, wand of office in hand, and around his neck the collar of the Order, which was worth more than four crowns; after him all the members of the Order carrying each a dish. The same was repeated at dessert, though not always with so much pomp. And at night, before giving thanks to God, he handed over to his successor in the charge the collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, and they drank to each other. I have already said that we had abundance of game, such as ducks, bustards, grey and white geese, partridges, larks, and other birds; moreover moose, caribou, beaver, otter, bear, rabbits, wild-cats, racoons, and other animals such as the savages caught, whereof we made dishes well worth those of the cookship in the *Rue aux Ours*, and far more; for of all our meats none is so tender as moose-meat (whereof we also made excellent pasties) and nothing so delicate as beaver's tail. Yea, sometimes we had a dozen sturgeon at once, which the savages brought us, part of which we bought, and allowed them to sell the remainder publicly and to barter it for bread, of which our men had abundance. As for the ordinary rations brought from France, they were distributed equally to great and small alike; and, as we have said, the wine was served in like manner.

CLOSING PART OF A LETTER TO POPE PAUL V COMPOSED IN LATIN BY
L'ESCARBOT FOR HIS FRIEND BARON DE POUTRINCOURT.

"These strange children are the peoples of the East, now estranged from the faith of Christ, to whom therefore can be applied that text of the Gospel which we now see fulfilled: 'The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.' Now therefore, behold the acceptable time, behold the day of salvation, in which God shall visit and redeem His people, and a people which hath not known Him shall serve Him, and in the hearing of the ear shall obey Him, if He suffer me, His unworthy servant, to be the leader of so great a deed. Wherein I implore the favour of your Holiness by the bowels of the tender mercy of our

God, I crave your sanction, I appeal to your righteousness, that as I am now hurrying forth to this task, with my most loving wife and children, you will deign to grant your blessing unto us, and to bestow it also on my servants and assistants. For this I surely believe will aid us greatly, not only for the safety of our bodies, but also of our souls, yea, and will greatly advantage the fertility of our soil, and the success of our undertaking. May the God of all goodness and might, may our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, may the Holy Spirit also, grant that as you sit in the exalted Seat of the chief of the apostles, you may for many generations hold the helm of His Holy Church, and see fulfilled in your days that which of a surety is your greatest glory, the prophecy of the holy Prophet concerning Christ: 'Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him.'

John de Biencour
The lowly and most devoted
Son of your Holiness."

FROM THE ABANDONMENT OF PORT ROYAL TO THE TREATY OF
ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE.

1607-1632.

Such a sketch as this does not require a careful tracing in detail of the sinuous course of the Acadian narrative during the quarter of a century which followed the return to France of de Monts and his associates in 1607. The primary attempt at French colonisation in America had to all appearance proved a failure. Port Royal was in a state of utter collapse,—a complete *tabula rasa*. Not a white man's voice or footfall was longer heard within its limits, while the surrounding red man still remained outside the pale of civilisation and Christianity. The sky appeared completely overcast. Yet not quite so, for one faint ray of hope still glimmered on the horizon. That glimmer of light emanated from the sanguine and indomitable spirit of Poutrincourt, who refused to give up his dream of a patriarchal seigniory in Acadia. Though he had reluctantly acquiesced in its temporary desertion, he was still, as far as the grant of de Monts could make him so, lord of the manor of Port Royal; and naturally his first step on landing in France was to obtain from his royal friend, King Henry, a ratification of de Monts's gift of the beloved spot. The latter obtained, he spent three years in assiduously and patiently overcoming difficulties, and in bringing about conditions that would justify a renewal of the Port Royal experiment.

In the spring of 1610 the indefatigable baron found himself on the ocean, bound once more for his chosen Port Royal. Not a single one of his leading associates in the original enterprise accompanied him. Lescarbot settled down to his professional and literary life in France. The others, or most of them, transferred their affections

from Acadia to Canada, and were—Champlain at any rate—achieving immortality on the waters of the St. Lawrence, while Poutrincourt was battling with the unpleasant problem, which he did not succeed in altogether solving, of providing ways and means for his new attempt. He did not succeed in associating with himself any laymen—if we except his son and successor the unfortunate Biencourt—of great eminence or marked ability. In another respect, however, his equipment was greatly superior to that of de Monts. Even the Catholic clergymen who came out in 1604 were chaplains for the colonists themselves rather than missionaries for the conversion of the natives. The christianisation of the Micmacs was now made not merely a nominal but a very definite and practical feature of the undertaking, an object which it is but just to say was more successfully accomplished than the general colonisation purposes which Poutrincourt had in mind. The carpenters and masons under Pontgravé and Lescarbot had done their work so well that Poutrincourt found on his arrival at Port Royal towards midsummer, 1610, the fort, residence and barracks built in 1606 for the most part intact and ready for re-occupation. He sent back to France in charge of the ship in which he and his company had crossed his son Biencourt, to report the auspicious re-inauguration of French rule in Acadia, the cordial welcome accorded the returning colonists by the aged Micmac Chieftain, Membertou, and particularly his conversion and that of many of his tribesmen through the agency of zealous missionary effort. But the tide of success did not continue to flow uninterruptedly in Poutrincourt's favor. Off the Banks on his homeward journey Biencourt heard the portentous news that Henry IV of Navarre, the first and greatest of the Bourbon kings, had fallen by the dagger of Ravallac in the street of the Ironsmiths. This was a loss to Poutrincourt as well as a calamity to France. Ecclesiastical complications also arose to breed some trouble in the resuscitated colony. It had been arranged when Poutrincourt sailed for Port Royal in 1610 that he was to be accompanied as a part of his missionary equipment by one Father Pierre Biard, a Jesuit priest, to give the aid of his strong personality and the sanction of his distinguished Order to the work of reclaiming the Indians from sav-

agery. Whether by accident or design—either view is arguable—Poutrincourt sailed without Biard, though not without zealous representatives of the Catholic priesthood. On Biencourt's access to Court in 1611, he found Marie de Medicis, the Queen-Mother, practically Queen-Regent during the infancy of her weakling son, Charles the Ninth, disposed to favor his father's enterprise, but strongly insisting that he should take with him to Acadia, to lead the missionary movement there disciples of Loyola, spiritual kinsmen of the Confessors who had already unfurled the flag of the Cross in India, in China, and in Peru. Biencourt acceded to the suggestion. Father Biard's opportunity at length seemed fully come. But a fresh, but happily not insuperable, difficulty arose. Financial exigencies had compelled Biencourt to associate with himself in preparation for a return to Acadia some Huguenot capitalists whose religious views and prejudices, led them to object strongly to any partnership in a scheme with which members of the Order of Jesus were prominently identified. The difficulty was solved by the purchase of the Huguenot interest in the venture by one Madam De Guercheville, a venerable, courtly, and most estimably pious lady, profoundly interested in the world-embracing propaganda of the Jesuit Order. The Huguenot stumbling block got over, Biard, with an associate of his order, Father Masse, duly proceeded to Port Royal with Biencourt. They zealously applied themselves to the difficult task of acquiring the language of the forest-savages for whose salvation they had crossed the ocean and to their several duties as spiritual heads of the colony. But their opportunities did not cover a wide sphere, nor last without interruption for any appreciable length of time. Biard had frictions with Poutrincourt, and after the latter left for France, which he did very soon after his son's return to Port Royal in company with Biard, still more serious controversy with Biencourt, who took his father's place as lord of the manor. In fact Biard had to resort to the extreme measure of excommunicating Biencourt for his contumacious conduct, at least it is so stated by Lescarbot, though Biard in his own "Relations" makes no reference to such an occurrence. The last of his history is soon told. Finding no sphere for missionary effort at Port Royal, he embraced an opportunity the next year

(1613) to join an incipient French colony founded near Mount Desert under the auspices of Madame De Guercheville by La Saussage. This colony was planted amid all sorts of discouragements and woes, but worse was soon to come. Samuel Argall, a semi-piratical captain from Jamestown, Virginia, raided the infant settlement, made prisoners of all the settlers, sent fifteen of them out to sea in an open boat and took the remaining fifteen, including Biard, back with him to Virginia in his own ship. Argall soon set out on another cruise to Acadia, and Biard with him, for what reason and in what capacity cannot be definitely stated. The fact is related by Biard himself without explanatory statement accompanying. In this cruise, Argall's fleet visited first Mount Desert, where they destroyed all vestiges of French authority; then the Island of St. Croix where they raised the dilapidated remnants of the building in which de Monts and his company spent the terrible winter of 1604-5 and then crossed the bay to Port Royal. This brings Biard's connection with Acadian affairs down to the summer of 1613. The general history of Port Royal is not brought quite up to that date. We have seen that in 1611, Poutrincourt leaves his son Biencourt, newly created a Vice Admiral of France, to rule in his absence. The object of his return voyage to France was if possible to replenish his depleted exchequer—he had wasted on these Acadian ventures a splendid patrimony—and thus save his settlement from starvation. But all his efforts proved futile so long as the supreme direction of affairs in Acadia were to remain in his hands. Strictly speaking, the possessory right over Acadia in general remained with de Monts, but Poutrincourt, though only sub-lessee of the Port Royal District never clearly delineated, had on account of the absence and indifference of de Monts, assumed proprietorship over a much wider area and practically over all the Acadian lands. At this juncture Madame de Guercheville purchased from de Monts for a small sum the whole scope of his grānt as made by King Henry IV in 1604. Poutrincourt's rights to Port Royal, a little enclosure in a vast continental realm, had of course to be at least theoretically respected. The vessel which brought relief to Biencourt and his company in January, 1612, was really sent by Madame De Guercheville, acting under the direction of her favorite order. De

Monts' connection with Acadia was definitely terminated. Poutrincourt retained his connection with Port Royal, but on a very precarious tenure.

For a number of years after Argall's raid Port Royal affairs furnished little historical material, and of that little there was no contemporary pen to take advantage. Biencourt, inheritor of his father's interest in the manor, was sometimes in residence but more frequently he roamed along the shores and through the forests of Acadia as an exile rather than as a ruler. During the closing years of this nomadic period of his life he had the close confidential companionship of a young man who was destined to achieve a conspicuous position in Acadian affairs. This was Charles de St. Etienne, son of Claude de St. Etienne Sieur de la Tour, a Huguenot gentleman whom exigent circumstances had brought from France to Port Royal in the early days of the settlement. The son in due course of time inherited the family title and it was as De la Tour that he chiefly plays his part in our little drama. He was the husband of Lady la Tour, whom Evangeline being the pure creation of poetic fancy, many regard as the noblest and most attractive female figure presented in the annals of Acadia.

When Biencourt ended his life of troubles in 1623 it was found by his last will and testament that he had left St. Etienne heir to all his interests in the colony of Port Royal. Assuming the shadow of command thus dubiously bequeathed him the new governor proceeded to transfer the seat of authority from the demolished and desolate Port Royal to a rock-environed harbor near Cape Sable to which he gave the name of Fort Louis, but which bears in perpetuity his own name, Port La Tour. The reasons for this change are entirely conjectural. In 1627 Charles I of England was induced much against his will by his favorite Buckingham to declare war against France in support of a Huguenot rebellion which had broken out in the latter kingdom. On the part of the government this war was prosecuted, as might naturally have been expected from the husband of Henriette Maria, languidly and half heartedly, and in Europe began and ended with an abortive attempt to raise Richelieu's siege of the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle. During its progress, however,

events of greater consequence took place in America. In London royal apathy was more than counterbalanced by private activity and zeal. The city abounded in Huguenot refugees and sympathizers. Conspicuous among others was a wealthy merchant named Eustace Kirke, who had been for a number of years domiciled at Dieppe. In association with the London traders Kirke fitted out a small expedition for the especial purpose of preying on the French colonies in America. The three small vessels of which it was composed were placed under command of Kirke's three sons, David, Lewis and Thomas, none of whom seems to have had much, if any, nautical experience. The technical responsibilities of navigation were placed in other hands. For general direction of such an enterprise the brothers, particularly David, who was given the rank of Admiral, were eminently well qualified. The vessels being largely manned by Huguenot crews were pervaded by a strong spirit of religious enthusiasm. The king could not refuse letters of marque for use in a war carried on under his own name.

To return to Acadia. St. Etienne (Charles de la Tour) in his lonely fort at Cape Sable had in some way obtained knowledge of the war which had then (1627) broken out between England and France, and had also probably got some hints of the preparations under way in London for including the French colonies in America under its scope. He at once despatched his father (Claude de la Tour) to Paris with urgent representations to the authorities there that nothing but prompt and vigorous action on their part could avert the permanent alienation of Acadia and probably of Canada too, from the French Crown. There was a prompt response to St. Etienne's appeal. A fleet of transports, well laden with arms, ammunition and provisions, under convoy of an armed cruiser or two commanded by Roquemont as Admiral, was soon under full sail for America and Quebec naturally in view of the first point of destination. Though St. Etienne's warning seemed timely, it came a little too late. The Kirkes got across the ocean first, sailed up the St. Lawrence, and concealing their vessels in the lower waters of the Saguenay, quietly awaited the anticipated approach of the French fleet. In due time

Roquemont prepared to halt a tide or two at Tadousac for rest and refreshment on his way to the salvation of Quebec, but before his keels touched the dark waters of the Saguenay, the Kirkes were upon him, and after a struggle, the particulars of which have not come down to us, his whole fleet was captured. Admiral Kirke threw the cargoes of the French transports into the river or transferred them to his own ships according to their character and burned the vessels themselves to the water's edge. The way to Quebec was now open, and the place was without any means of effective defence. Misinformed on the latter point, Kirke decided to reserve further operations on the St. Lawrence for another year and to return with all his prizes and prisoners to England for the winter. Among other prisoners sent to London was Claude de la Tour, who had command of one of Roquemont's transport ships. From this apparently simple fact there resulted, as will be seen, quite an aftermath of interesting, if not important, history. Kirke himself, on his return voyage, took in Port Royal and assumed formal possession of Acadia in the King's name. It does not fall within the purpose of this sketch to trace in detail the further fortunes of the Kirkes, though it is pertinent to relate how a year later they revisited the St. Lawrence, captured Quebec without a struggle, and then with no less important a captive in their charge than the illustrious Champlain himself, returned to England to find that the so-called Huguenot War in which they had been such active participants, had been formally concluded by the Peace of Suza on the 29th day of the preceding April, really only a few weeks after their setting sail from Quebec. International law was then in its infancy, and the disallowance of a conquest made under such circumstances was mooted without leading to practical consequences. For three years from this date New France, including both Canada and Acadia, was a possession of the British Crown, St. Etienne's little company at Cape Sable being too insignificant to take rank as an exception.

King Charles, as events proved, attached but little value to the vast transatlantic regions which the daring of the Kirkes had added to his realms. As has already been hinted his heart was not in the war which had resulted in these vast acquisitions. He had but little

sympathy with the motives and principles of the men who promoted and conducted it. He had scarcely acquired these colonial possessions, when those who had access to his inner thoughts knew that he was secretly planning to restore them to France. That so far as the disposal of Acadia was concerned this attitude and purpose of mind involved flagrant inconsistency on his part will appear from the following recital of facts. In 1621, eight years or so before the point reached in our narrative, his father, James the First, acting as King of Scotland, had granted to his friend, fellow poet, and collaborateur in literary work, William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Sir William Alexander and Earl of Stirling, a stretch of territory in America, roughly including in its boundaries the present Maritime Provinces of Canada, with a slice of Maine and a large corner of Quebec. Over this extensive area to which after the analogy of the contiguous countries, New France and New England, the name of New Scotland was to be given, Alexander was accorded absolute proprietorship and almost sovereign rights.

Up to the time of James's death, Alexander had not been able to educe any practical results from his stupendous grant. That monarch's heart was set on producing an improved metrical version of the psalms of David, and Alexander's time was largely occupied in aiding and inspiring the royal muse.

In 1625, after the King's death, Charles the First, his successor, confirmed, with beneficial additions, the grant to Alexander. Especially in order to make its effect more certain, he established a new order of baronetcy, the recipients of the dignity to be known as Baronets of Nova Scotia. Each baronet on the payment of a fee of £150 was to receive an allotment of eighteen square miles of land. Of the one hundred and seven estates marked off for prospective tenants no less than thirty-one were on the island of Anticosti. This fact serves as an illustration of the topographical and climatic knowledge of New Scotland possessed by those in charge of this scheme of colonisation, which so far as is known was put to the test of actual occupancy in but a single instance.

Though in a large number of cases titles have become extinct, or linger on in a state of drowsy dormancy, the Baronetage of Nova

Scotia has by no means passed away. Many of the proudest families of Scotland, to the subjects of which kingdom the creation was strictly limited, count the title among their most highly prized distinctions, "a mystical but honorable tradition." Everything was done to render the order effective for the purpose in view, to secure in the great work of colonisation the co-operation of "Knights and gentlemen of chief respect for their birth-place or fortune." No device known to heraldic art was omitted to make the escutcheon of the baron a visible sign of his powers and prerogatives. "Each baronet of Nova Scotia was entitled to have hereditary seat and voice in all the Legislative Assemblies of the Royal Province of Nova Scotia." The word "Sir" was to be "preponed," and the word Baronet "postponed," to all other names and titles. A Baronet of Nova Scotia, once established on his feudal lands, exercised the virtual powers of sovereignty. The jurisdiction of his civil courts was co-extensive with his realm. His criminal code included everything except high treason. He licensed fishermen, appointed judges, and coined money. Such were the powers *in posse* of a Baronet of Nova Scotia. These powers have long since passed; indeed they never came into actual exercise at all; yet there is something of value left, which cannot be taken away. "The Royal Charter of King Charles the First spoke language of no mere empty phraseology, when it described this order with all its rights and privileges as being created forever; for from the very nature of its constitution, the Baronetage of Nova Scotia must exist as long as the forest-clad mountains of the Royal Province stand, and the transmission of its ancient dignities flows on through the centuries as long as Nova Scotia's rivers run."¹

No even tolerably direct record remains of the inner history of the Alexander colony at Port Royal from its establishment in 1628 till its disruption in 1632. There is a tradition of its having been visited during the first or second winter by a destructive plague like that which smote de Monts' encampment on St. Croix Island a quarter of a century before. Generally, a haze of uncertainty and

¹ From "The Baronets of Nova Scotia" by Sir Edward Mackenzie Mackenzie, Baronet Nova Scotia. Translations R. S. C. 1901.

doubt envelopes the enterprise from its beginning to its end. From what port and under what immediate auspices the colonists had sailed; the nature of their voyage; the initial difficulties encountered and the progress made; their relations with the few French families still lingering in the vicinity; with the Indians, as well as with the not very remote Puritans in New England, on these and similar points of natural interest, we have very little information. Scarcely any events of daily life and experience like those whose record lends such charm to the pages of Lescarbot and Champlain have been handed down. The bald fact seems well attested that in 1630, Sir George Horne (presumably a Baronet of Nova Scotia) assumed the leadership of the colony, the younger Alexander, its founder, having returned to Scotland.

To return to King Charles and his relation to the Alexander project of colonisation in both its general and particular aspects. In close association with Sir William at home, the King was constant and most sympathetic in assurances of his continued and profound interest in an undertaking so near to his father's heart and to his own. Sir William Alexander might well have counted on the royal favor to the last moment and the last pistole. It shakes our faith somewhat in the pledged faith of kings, however confirmatory it may be of Macaulay's vivid exposure of Charles's fatal habit of dissimulation, to learn that secret articles were attached to the convention of Suza by which the so-called Huguenot war was concluded, and provision made for the restoration to France of both Canada and Acadia, that is to say, for stripping the Alexanders of every acre of ground granted them by his father and solemnly ratified to them by himself. It required, however, three years for the King to put affairs in shape for an open avowal of this secret, and so far as Acadia at any rate was concerned, most disgraceful compact. During this period, while he retained the nominal sovereignty of the countries, which he had stipulated to restore, he was actually engaged in higgling for his *quid pro quo*. His Queen was Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII, the reigning French monarch. Only half of Henrietta Maria's dowry had been paid when Charles had been induced by Buckingham to join the insurgent Huguenots in their revolt against

France. This action had seriously compromised the payment of the remaining moiety. In time, however, the difficulty was adjusted; Richelieu agreed to complete the dowry, a debt of honor if not of right; and so on March 20th, 1632, the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye was ratified between England and France, by whose main provision the latter had restored to her in their fulness her North American possessions. It is not too much to say that to secure the prompt payment of a valid claim of less than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars Charles bartered away half of the Continent of North America. The King's letters to Thomas Kirke at Quebec and to Sir George Horne at Port Royal, instructing them to strike their flags, and to deliver up their belongings to the accredited agents of France are extant, but are by no means pleasant reading. They need not be reproduced here. When the truth could no longer be concealed, the King informed Sir William Alexander, whom a few months before he had created Earl of Stirling, of the coming doom. Broken in spirit and bankrupt in fortune, the poet-coloniser did not long survive the shock.

Sir William Alexander was probably the most conspicuous Scotchman of his day, but is now largely, but not completely, forgotten. He was a poet, a statesman, an empire-builder. Works read with appreciation and pleasure by such men as John Milton, Joseph Addison, and Jonathan Swift, have for generations passed completely out of mind. The only incident of his literary career which his name recalls is that of his having collaborated with King James in revising Rous' version of the Psalms.

But the grandeur of his colonisation schemes, and the connection of the boundary lines of his grant with important international issues and disputes have kept his memory alive. His own claim was that he obtained "the first national patent that ever was clearly bounded within America by particular limits upon the earth." However "clearly bounded" his grant may have been, the ascertainment of its exact limits became the subject of much discussion, and minute investigation. The question was involved in the disputes between England and France, founded on their diverse interpretation of the Treaty of Utrecht in regard to the territory ceded by the latter nation; it came

still more directly before the various commissions appointed to determine the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. Sir William Alexander was invoked to determine which was the true source of the Saint Croix and where was "the north-west angle of Nova Scotia." The name of our Province, too, will do its part to keep his name from being forgotten.

FROM THE TREATY OF SAINT GERMAIN-EN-LAYE TO THE TREATY
OF BREDA.

1632-1667.

When France resumed possession of Acadia, the problem of colonising that country did not materially differ from that which confronted the pioneers of 1604. A fresh start had to be made. The general wreck had left but scanty materials capable of being worked into any scheme of reconstruction. There were indeed valuable lessons to be learned from the mistakes of the past, but on the other hand difficulties and dangers were soon to loom up of which de Monts and Poutrincourt knew nothing. The fire of French enthusiasm for transmarine expansion was still unquenched. What if the toil, the exposure, the peril, the suffering, the heavy toll of death involved in the succession of spasmodic struggles put forth to realize the great ends of Henry IV's commission to de Monts had issued in such paltry results? The pusillanimous conduct of England had given France a chance to redeem herself and to show the nations how to colonise a continent.

The work of the practical re-establishment of French authority in Acadia was placed in the hands of the Company of New France, an organization in which all the influential and moneyed classes of the Kingdom were represented, and of which the great Cardinal Richilieu himself was a member. While the Huguenot War was in progress the company had organised an expedition for the recovery of Acadia, and had placed it under the command of Isaac de Razilly, a naval officer of some distinction as well as a relative of the Cardinal, who was then at the height of his power. Before the day for sailing came, the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye was announced. The plan of sending de Razilly to Acadia was not abandoned, though the pur-

pose and character of his mission underwent necessary changes. Not to wrest Acadia from England, but to rehabilitate it as a French colony was now the duty assigned him by the company. Farmers and artisans were substituted for soldiers and midshipmen; tools of husbandry and the mechanic arts for swords and blunderbusses. Coming with a carefully selected body of settlers and an excellent outfit for at once proceeding to repair the fortunes of the desolate and dismantled Port Royal, he made a mistake in locating himself and the main body of his followers at La Have, to prosecute the business of "sedentary" fishing. He remained there until his death in 1635 or 1636. Three or four valuable years in the attempt to reconstruct Acadia were thus largely lost.

Of the men who came over with De Razilly in 1632, two were destined to play important parts in the future history of the colony. Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay Charnisay (hereafter called Charnisay in this narrative), De Razilly's successor and, from 1635 to 1650, the leading figure in Acadia, and Nicholas Denys, the historian to whose pen we are chiefly indebted for knowledge, or what passes for knowledge, of the mid-period of the Acadian narrative. On his arrival in 1632 Charnisay was placed as sub-vice-roy at Penobscot (Pentagoet) on the western verge of Acadia to protect a small French trading post there from New England invasion. Denys, who had strong mercantile proclivities, established himself for trade near De Razilly at Port Rossignol and later in still closer proximity on the harbor now known as Riverport. Port Royal was left to take its chances without a head. On de Razilly's death in 1635, the governorship passed into the hands of Charnisay with the implicit, if not positive, authorisation of the authorities at home. To render his title less open to dispute he purchased the proprietary rights of de Razilly from the latter's brother, Claude. Taking up his official residence at Port Royal, he at once brought there the de Razilly settlers from La Have, whom he located not on the site of the old Habitation near Goat Island, but on that of the present town of Annapolis. Denys withdrew from La Have.

It is now time to make inquiries about the whereabouts and recent activities of Charles La Tour, who is destined for the next twenty

years or so to play a prominent part in Acadian affairs. When notice was last taken of him he was in his lonely fort near Cape Sable, at that time—1630—the only post held by the French in all the land. Here comes in the singular story of his father's conversion from ardent French patriotism to as equally ardent attachment to British institutions. Taken to England as a prisoner of war on one of Kirke's vessels, as a Huguenot he was brought into close connection with the promoters of the Huguenot War and particularly with Sir William Alexander, and soon saw reason for changing his views and particularly his national allegiance. He received through Sir William's friendly intervention one of the Nova Scotian baronetcies, and the grant of an immense block of land in southwestern Nova Scotia, which happened to include the site of his son's fort. That son was also honored with one of the coveted titles and in the matter of the grant was made a co-grantee with his father. To round the matter off in good shape, the elder La Tour, being a widower, sought and obtained a wife at Hampton Court, in the person of one of the Maids of Honor to Queen Henrietta Maria. Just then Sir William Alexander happened to be sending two ships with additional colonists to his "Scotch Fort" at Port Royal. On one of these sailed La Tour and his bride, the arrangement being that the vessel should stop at Cape Sable and interview Charles as to the transfer of his allegiance according to the example set him by his father. The interview took place in due order of time. Instead of his being moved by titles of honor and grants of land to desert his country's flag, the young man took a high patriotic stand, and avowed his purpose to die for it rather than dishonor it. The story concludes with a vigorous, but unsuccessful, bombardment of Fort Lomeron by the Alexander vessels under the direction of the indignant father. A postscript gives us the additional information that disgraced in the eyes of the Scotchmen at Port Royal by his inability to induce his son to turn traitor, he was compelled to cast himself on the filial clemency of Charles, and accept at Cape Sable, specially provided quarters "outside" the latter's fort. Just how much—or how little—truth there is in that part of this story following the record of the father's proceedings in England, will never be known. Many writers of eminence reject

the whole of it. Just then Charles La Tour—even granting that his father's activity in procuring titles and grants for him was no secret—was not just then under any special temptation to desert the fleur-de-lis. He was too shrewd a man not to understand the utter hollowness of the Huguenot War so far as the English king was concerned, and not to foresee the certain and almost immediate restoration of Acadia to France. To say nothing of his duty, it was altogether his interest to maintain unimpaired his reputation for loyal attachment to the flag of France.

In 1633 or thereabouts he obtained a large grant at the mouth of the river St. John, moved there, and on the death of de Razilly, was carrying on a flourishing trade in fish and furs. It so happened that for a year or two—perhaps for a longer time—during de Razilly's administration, Charnisay and La Tour were comparatively near neighbors at Penobscot and St. John, both acknowledging the supreme authority of De Razilly. The installation of Charnisay at Port Royal, produced a change not only of relation but of feeling. La Tour suddenly remembered that before the formal recession of Acadia to France he had been appointed Lieutenant-General for the King, and claimed that the commission was still in force. On this claim he refused to acknowledge the authority of Charnisay. For ten years there was a battle royal of arms and diplomatic intrigue between the jealous and ambitious rivals. The first attempt on the part of the Crown to settle the disputes was by assigning to Charnisay—whose headquarters were at Port Royal—all of the territory north of the Bay of Fundy—and to La Tour the Peninsula. But this was only to make "confusion worse confounded," for it placed the capital of each in the territory of the other. Charnisay had the stronger friends at home, though La Tour was not without influential support. La Tour tried to make up for his failure in the diplomatic battle in Paris by seeking sympathy and aid from the Puritans in Boston. Charnisay was triumphant at all points. In 1645 he captured La Tour's fort at St. John. Two years later his authority was made more definite, if not more extensive, by appointment as Governor of the entire country from the Penobscot to the Saint Lawrence. La Tour had left the country on the fall of his fort. Denys was expelled from

Miscon, where he had recently opened a small trading station. Charnisay, at Port Royal, governed with autocratic powers and without a rival. In 1650 he was drowned by the upsetting of a canoe.

Naturally the death of Charnisay brought La Tour and Denys back to Acadia. The former lost no time in repairing to France, and by vigorous and skilful effort—just what agencies he chiefly employed is not known—secured the appointment of Governor and Lieutenant-General of Acadia, the post made vacant by the accident to Charnisay. Madame Charnisay had certain proprietary interests in Acadia, particularly on the St. John. La Tour's first step on returning with his commission was to settle the claims arising out of these by himself marrying the widowed lady. Denys received—or bought—from the Company of New France the whole Gulf of St. Lawrence region from Canso to Gaspé and proceeded to establish posts at St. Anne's and St. Peter's in the Island of Cape Breton. La Tour took up his residence in his old quarters at St. John. Le Borgne, a merchant of some kind, who claimed to be a creditor to a large amount of the deceased Charnisay, came to the front about this time and caused much trouble. He managed to establish himself in power at Port Royal, and forthwith endeavored to oust both La Tour and Denys from their respective posts. The former proved too strong for him, but both of the latter's settlements, each in its infancy, were raided and Denys himself dragged to Port Royal and put in prison. On in some way obtaining liberation the future historian repaired to France, stated his grievances, and obtained reparation for his wrongs by being made "King's Governor and Lieutenant-General in all the country, territory, coasts and confines of the great Bay of St. Lawrence, beginning from Cape Canso to Cape Rosiers, the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, St. John and other islands adjacent."

Another eclipse was about to come over French Acadia. An English fleet appeared first in the St. John, a day or two after in Port Royal Basin. In both places its demand for surrender was followed by immediate compliance therewith. For fifteen years Acadia was to be at least nominally an appanage of the English Crown. Unexpected things were now to happen. That patriotic Frenchman, La Tour, hurried off to England, putting in his appear-

ance there as a baronet of Nova Scotia and as grantee of valuable lands in that province and as an admirer of British institutions. As one of our historians—an ardent admirer of La Tour, says, “the result was a triumphant success for the Acadian diplomatist.” In conjunction with two other land-hungry gentlemen, he was awarded a grant extending from what is now known as Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, to the river St. George in Maine, including the whole coast of the Bay of Fundy and one hundred leagues inland. La Tour soon sold out his rights in this grant and spent the remaining ten years of his life in retirement. He died in 1666, “a British subject,” as one of the writers who find much to admire in his character and career describes him, with substantial if not technical accuracy.

A brief review of the twenty-two years (1632-1654) of uninterrupted French supremacy that followed the restoration of Acadia to France by the Treaty of Saint German-en-Laye will furnish opportunity for filling a few gaps in the preceding narrative, and for presenting a somewhat fuller account of some transactions and careers to which justice has not been done.

The simple statement that the newly appointed Governor, de Razilly, after duly receiving the surrender of Port Royal, proceeded to locate his colonists at La Have, while capable of some interesting and not unimportant amplification, suggests inquiries to which positive answers cannot be given. No information is at hand to show whether the transfer of the base of operations from Port Royal to La Have was due to de Razilly's individual initiative, or imposed on him by the company for which he acted. The fact that the settlers brought out were mainly agricultural laborers indicates that the authorities at home were not responsible for the policy of establishing the colony on the basic industry of inshore fishing. That policy, however, must not be too hastily condemned nor those who suggested it, too severely criticised. The fur trade as a means of promoting colonisation had proved a broken reed on which to lean. Agriculture in a heavily timbered country like the original Acadia did not appeal strongly to men unaccustomed to the levelling of forests, while the farmers on de Razilly's ship who afterwards showed their appreciation of the bare marsh lands round Port Royal, did not

get a good look at them, before they were whisked off to La Have to engage in that "sedentary fishing" of which Denys writes so learnedly.

The policy having been decided on, no time was lost in giving it practical effect. The choice of a site for the experiment was on the whole a judicious one. It would have been impolitic to go too far away from the Bay of Fundy, say to Chedabucto or St. Peter's. La Have was selected, not only because it was nearer the old centre, but because nowhere along the southern and western shores of the Peninsula did the waters teem with a greater abundance and a greater variety of valuable fishes. The climate was at least as mild as that of Port Royal. Without appreciable tidal variations, a sheltered and capacious harbor just within the estuary of perhaps the finest river on the Atlantic slope, offered rare conditions of safety and convenience. Against the time, sure to come, when the growth of the colony would demand a large output of local agricultural produce, the same nature which provided the river, had also caused it to run for nearly forty miles through a valley—widening as the stream ascends—whose timber growth bespoke a deep and fertile soil.

De Razilly and his colony were at La Have for four full years. During nearly three of those years, de Razilly's friend and profound admirer, Nicolas Denys, the historian, also resided there. Four or five pages of the latter's "Description and Natural History of North America (Acadia)" are devoted to the La Have region, with an incidental reference of course to de Razilly's and to the writer's own activities and experiences while residents of the place. On the result of the experiment as a business venture and on the inner life of the community he sheds no light whatever. Denys, it must be admitted, supplies some rather important information. When this is outlined we can see how much that we should like to hear about, is left altogether unnoticed.

As to Denys himself, we learn in the first place that contemporaneously with the settlement of the colony at La Have, he established himself in business at Port Rossignol¹ (Liverpool) as a fish mer-

¹The exact site of the establishment of Denys' was where the stirring and pretty little town of Brooklyn now stands.

chant, having as partner—or “patron” as he calls him—no less a personage than “Monsieur de Razilly himself.” The first year’s business was successful, but not so that of the second year. In connection with the latter some curious things developed. Denys’ brother took the vessel, well loaded with cod, to Oporto. Most unopportunity war between France and Spain¹ broke out just after sale had been effected in the well-known Portuguese city. Payment was stopped. Denys’ brother was thrown into prison for pressing his claims too insistently. The French ambassador got him out and finally secured him a passage to France, with a commendatory letter to the great Cardinal Richelieu, at that time controller of the destinies of Europe. The cardinal gave Captain Denys the command of a King’s ship, “but could do nothing for Nicolas and de Razilly, who lost both their ship and its cargo.” The historian forthwith left Port Rossignol and established himself on the La Have as a timber merchant. The references to the de Razilly colony itself are chiefly topographical. “The entrance (to the harbor) is between the island and the cape: it is not very wide. Being inside one finds a beautiful basin, which could contain even a thousand vessels. The dwelling of Monsieur de Razilly was a league from the entrance upon a little point.² In addition to the main settlement on the river harbour, de Razilly had a smaller subsidiary colony outside of the river. Here “is found a little river”—still *Petite Riviere*—“of which the entrance is good for long boats. It does not come from very far inland, but it is a very beautiful and very excellent region.” This is the place where the Commander de Razilly had caused a part of his clearing to be made. There were there about forty residents who had already harvested a quantity of wheat when he died.”

While Denys vouchsafes us not a single line regarding the general fishery business conducted by the company at the inner and outer stations, he particularly describes the crustaceans and fishes found in the river: “There is an infinity of scallops, which are huge shells like those which the pilgrims bring from Saint Michel and Saint

¹ At that time the sovereignty of Portugal was merged in that of Spain.

² No identification could possibly be more complete than that of the elevation now appropriately called *Fort Point* as the site of de Razilly’s residence. At the same time Dr. Ganong very properly doubts whether the relics of old fortifications found there date as far back as de Razilly’s day.

Jaques. It is good to eat. The eel there is excellent, as are shad, salmon, cod and other kinds of good fishes." The soil along the La Have is justly commended; nowhere were there better opportunities for hunting. Denys politely left "the main river to the commander" and confined himself to the game to be found on his "own little river."¹

The reference of Denys to his own activities at La Have are interesting and help us to understand the hostile relations of Charnisay and La Tour. "As for me I had selected another place on the other (Eastern) bank of the river, where the land was good. It was on the shore of another little river² which fell into the larger, and here I had a dwelling built. I had a dozen men with me, some laborers, others makers of planks or staves for barrels, others carpenters and others for hunting. . . . In all these places were nothing but oaks and this is what I sought. Here I set my makers of planks and carpenters at work, and in two years I had a lot of planks and of beams for building all squared as well as rafters. Monsieur de Razilly, who only wished to make known the goodness of the country in order to attract the people there, was charmed that I could load all the timber on the vessel which brought him his provisions. As otherwise they would have been obliged to return empty to Europe." As fish were in as much demand in Europe as timber, it may be inferred from de Razilly's gratitude to Denys for providing his homeward bound ships with cargo, that the fisheries were not yielding a large amount of output.

Denys calls the arrangement by which the ships employed to provision the colony, took back to France cargoes of his dressed lumber, "an accommodation," which while of great value to himself cost the company nothing. In 1635 or 1636—uncertainty as to the exact date illustrates the hazy history of that period—de Razilly died. This event from its possible bearing on the continuance of his privilege naturally gave Denys occasion for anxiety. His worst fears

¹Not the *Petite Riviere* on the coast, but the small stream flowing into the La Have at Riverport, as will be seen from next note.

²"The little river" referred to by Denys, and by consequence also the site of his establishment are somewhat in doubt. The strong probabilities favor Ritecy's Cove, now Riverport, as best meeting the requirements.

were realized. Charnisay, who had been acting as de Razilly's lieutenant at Penobscot, at once assumed the governorship in succession to his late chief, and soon announced his intention to pass by both Penobscot and La Have and restore metropolitan honors to Port Royal. The necessary sequel of this decision would be the recall to the ancient capital of the de Razilly settlers at Petite Riviere and La Have; a probable one, the breaking up of Denys' timber establishment at Riverport.

With many men, even an imaginary financial wrong done them inflicts a wound that rankles long and deep. Unregenerate human nature seldom displays itself more unamiably than when it ascribes all the crimes in the calendar to the author of a single offence against the rights of property. Of this fact or tendency the case of Nicolas Denys furnishes a good example. There is no evidence of the slightest coolness or estrangement between the men prior to the death of de Razilly, who while he happened to be Charnisay's relative, was also Denys' intimate friend and esteemed patron. They knew each other in youth. They had accompanied de Razilly to Acadia as his chosen right hand men. There was no political rivalry to keep them apart; the highest ambition of Denys was to found industrial establishments.

But the break now came. The removal of the colony from La Have would necessarily prove a serious blow to the adjacent timber-working stations of Denys. That blow, however, might not be fatal, if the opportunity of transporting the timber in the company's ships could somehow be continued. Denys suggested—indeed urged—that the vessels on the way from Port Royal to France, might call at Riverport and take on his timber as before. Charnisay did not find it in his way to accede to this proposal, even though Denys' "master workman of planking went to see him at Port Royal." The La Have region relapsed into its original solitude. Denys proceeds to embalm in immortal infamy the author of the cruel wrong: "This (the succession of Charnisay to de Razilly) brought about indeed a change in the country. The first (de Razilly) desired nothing except to make known its goodness and to people it, while the other (Charnisay),

on the contrary, feared that it would become inhabited, and not only brought no one there, but he took away all the residents of La Have to Port Royal, holding them as serfs, without allowing them to make any gain. His disposition and that of his council was to reign, something which they would not have been able to do if the goodness of the country had become known, and it had been peopled. . . . So long as Charnisay lived, his custom was always to maltreat those whom he believed capable of bringing about the peopling of the country through their example. Thus I was forced to abandon the country and more than twenty thousand livres worth of timber all manufactured. . . . What is the use of having talents, experience and tact, if one's hands are tied, and if one is prevented from making use of them, as is amply proved in my own case."

The question at issue was a simple one, the propriety or otherwise of removing the colonists from La Have to Port Royal. The policy adopted operated to the prejudice of Denys. It endangered his timber-working establishments. No one had a right to complain of any proper efforts on his part to forestall this policy, or to secure, if said efforts failed, some new transportation arrangements with the company, which would make his industrial scheme still workable. Failing in both attempts he chose to make the matter a personal one—as if the policy of locating the colony was to hinge on what was, or was not, for his personal advantage—and so naturally enough in trying to reason the matter out is obliged both to disregard logic and misrepresent fact. According to Denys, when de Razilly took to La Have a body of colonists primarily intended for Port Royal he was engaged in advertising and peopling the country. When Charnisay brought them back to Port Royal—a procedure endorsed by the very writers who accept the historian's estimate of Charnisay's character—he was hiding the country's light under a bushel and preventing it from being peopled. The upsetting of his timber-trade plans at La Have, seems to have upset also Denys' power of logical reasoning: "His (Charnisay's) disposition and that of his council was to reign, something which they would not have been able to do if the goodness of the country had become known, and it had been peopled." This is a charge to lay against a man, one of whose

first steps after assuming the rule at Port Royal was to secure by a personal visit to France a reinforcement of twenty families for his colony.¹ The characterisation appears all the more remarkable when we read the following account of things at Port Royal, taken from Deny's own book: "In the extremity of the basin there is a kind of point of land where Monsieur d'Aunay (Charnisay) had a fine and good fort built. . . . There is a great extent of meadows which the sea used to cover, and which the Sieur d'Aunay had drained. It bears now fine and good wheat and the residents who were lodged near the fort (the old fort in Lower Granville) have for the most part abandoned their houses and have gone to settle on the upper part of the river. . . . They have again drained other lands which bear wheat and much greater abundance than those which they cultivated round the fort, good though these were. All the inhabitants there are the ones whom Monsieur le Commandeur de Razilly had brought from France to La Have.¹ Since that time they have multiplied much at Port Royal, where they have a great number of cattle and sheep." This from Denys himself would strike one as a pretty satisfactory vindication of the transfer to Port Royal and of Charnisay's ability as a colonial administrator.

Unfortunately the La Have incident was not the only occasion of friction between our two friends. During Charnisay's period of supremacy as sole ruler of Greater Acadia from the Penobscot to the Saint Lawrence, Denys had ventured to emerge from hiding so far as to establish a trading station of some kind at Miscou on the Bay Chaleur. What followed he thus narrates: "But two years later (the station was established in 1645) D'Aunay (Charnisay) dispossessed me of it by virtue of a Decree of Council, although I had a concession from the company, on consideration of which he made an arrangement with the one who commanded there for me. Inventory was made of all the goods and provisions which I had there, for the value of which he gave his promissory note payable the following year with the risks of the bottomry. But of this I have never been

¹ These families with the forty brought out by de Razilly, first located at La Have, and then finally settled at Port Royal, may be regarded as the fore-parents of the Acadian people.

able to recover anything. Thus just so long as there is no order there and one is not assured of the enjoyment of his concessions, the country will never be populated, and will always be the prey of the enemies of France." As no one knows what council issued the decree, or what company granted the concession, nor even the precise contents of the decree and extent of the concession, a positive opinion cannot be expressed on Charnisay's conduct in the matter. The giving of a note and bottomry bond would suggest at least a remote intention to be just and honorable; the failure to redeem the obligation was somewhat in harmony with his reputation as a financier.

In Acadia the exercise of French sovereignty was completely suspended from 1654 to 1667, and practically so for three years longer. Of this period of English occupation, whether under the protectorate of Cromwell or under Charles II, there is not much history to be related. The capture of Fort LaTour and Port Royal by a fleet sent over by Oliver to operate against the Dutch on the Hudson, followed by the seizure of other places, was an act of wanton, unprovoked aggression. The Puritans of Boston who inspired the outrage, and commissioned and equipped Sedgewick to head the invasion of a friendly nation's territory, did not pretend to put forth any special plea of justification. It was simply taking advantage of the presence of an English fleet in their harbour. Nor in events which followed did anything develop to shed glory on the name and flag of England, unless, indeed, the fact that the few French settlers around the forts were in no way interfered with as respects their property, persons, and religion.¹

We have already seen how Charles La Tour, that inflexible and uncorruptible French patriot, who, according to Denys, turned the guns of Fort Lomeron on his own father, when the venerable parent endeavored to seduce him from his allegiance, hastened across seas, to plead at the protector's knees and for an additional slice of English territory. He was successful.

On the 9th of August, 1656, Cromwell granted La Tour, in conjunction with Thomas Temple and William Crowne the following

¹ Denys overlooked the twenty families brought from France by Charnisay himself.

immense stretch of coast: "The country and territory called Acadia, and part of the country called Nova Scotia, from Merliguesche on the east coast to the port and cape of La Have, along the sea-coast to Cape Sable, and thence to a certain port called Port La Tour (still so called) and now and then named Port L'Emeron (Lomeron) and from thence along the coasts and islands to Cape Forchú, and from thence to the cape and river Saint Mary along the sea coast to Port Royal, and from thence along the coast to the head of the bay (of Fundy) and from thence along the said Bay to the fort of Saint John, and from thence all along the coast of Pentagoet (Penobscot) and the river Saint George on the confines of New England on the west coast and one hundred leagues inward."

The distinction set up in this grant between Acadia and Nova Scotia was taken advantage of in the interpretation of the treaties of Breda and Utrecht, to prejudice the claims of England.

The co-grantees with La Tour were Sir Thomas Temple and William Crowne. In 1662, La Tour "sold out" to Temple, who soon became sole proprietor of the immense grant. Four years later La Tour died, as one of his panegyrists reminds us, "a British subject" and "in that beloved Acadia which had been his home from boyhood."

Temple made Penobscot his trading centre, but carried on business at Jemseg, Port Royal, and La Have as well, but he was a mere trader, making no attempt to convert Acadia or Nova Scotia into a settled English colony.

France soon recognised that she had made a mistake in supinely acquiescing in Cromwell's original act of aggression, but the protector proved deaf to all appeals and artifices to secure from him the restoration of the lost province. With the death of Cromwell and particularly the accession of Charles II in 1660, the prospect of such recovery became much brighter. Negotiations on the subject were soon set on foot and had there been no other obstacle in the way but the English King's inclinations, would soon have resulted in the much desired restoration. But the way was temporarily blocked: first, by the bitter and resolute opposition offered to the proposal by New England; secondly and chiefly, by the fact that France was compelled by treaty to support Holland in a war which Charles, much against his will, had declared against the Dutch Republic.

The Treaty of Breda (1667) brought that inglorious war to an end, and returned Acadia to France. Temple was called on by royal proclamation to deliver up "all that country called Acadia," and more specifically, "the forts and habitations of Pentagoet (Penobscot), St. John, Port Royal, La Have and Cape Sable." Instead of gracefully yielding to the inevitable, Temple fought to the last ditch by claiming that, while La Have and Cape Sable were in Acadia, Port Royal, St. John and Pentagoet were in Nova Scotia, and so not covered by the treaty.

On May 12th, A. D. 1667, the name Nova Scotia made its first appearance in a standard literary work. Under that date there is found in the celebrated diary of Samuel Pepys, the following entry: "This morning come Sir H. Cholmly¹ to me for a tally or two; and tells me that he hears that we are by agreement to give the King of France Nova Scotia, which he do not like, but I do not know the importance of it."

On the 8th of the following September Pepys was put in the way rather accidentally of learning something as to the importance of our Province. Roaming through the galleries of Whitehall he fell in with a fellow official, Sir George Downing.¹ As they stopped for a chat, conversation naturally turned to the treaty recently negotiated at Breda, concerning some of whose provisions as reported much dissatisfaction prevailed. The following is an extract from the diarist's entry: "He (Sir George Downing) swears that all their articles are alike, as the giving away Polleroon, and Surinam, and Nova Scotia which hath a river three hundred miles up the country, with copper mines more than Swedeland, the only place in America that hath mines that we know of; and that Cromwell did value those places, and would forever have made much of them; but we have given them away for nothing."

¹ Sir George Downing naturally knew more about Nova Scotia than the average Englishman. He was taken when a boy to Salem, Massachusetts, and spent his youth and early manhood in New England. He was the second graduate of Harvard and was for some time a tutor in that college. Returning to England he entered public life as a strong supporter of the commonwealth and was a member of both of Cromwell's parliaments. He made his peace with Charles the second in 1660, and afterwards filled many offices. At this time he was commissioner of customs. Downing street was named in his honor.

FROM THE TREATY OF BREDA TO THE TREATY OF RYSWICK.

1667-1697.

The three years following the signing of the Treaty of Breda constitute a blank in the history of Acadia, as the transfer of sovereignty and possession provided for in the treaty was not really effected until 1670. During this interval the colony was so far as controlling ownership was concerned a veritable "No Man's Land." On the surface the delay was due to Temple, who sought to postpone, if not prevent, the extinction of his proprietary rights by quibbling over the exact scope and meaning of the terms used in the Article of Cession. The King's acquiescence in this policy of procrastination is explained by his natural desire to have the indignation excited in both England and his American Colonies by the proposed surrender of Acadia, cool off before the reinstallation of French authority became an accomplished and visible fact. The delay, however, could not go on indefinitely. Louis XIV, who appreciated the reason underlying his cousin's vacillation, delicately hinted to Charles that the plunge must be taken. The farce was ended by a royal mis-sive to Temple, as clear in description as it was peremptory in tone, enjoining the immediate evacuation and formal surrender of all his holdings in the ceded territory, it mattered not whether it was called Acadia or Nova Scotia. The Chevalier Grand-Fontaine, representative of the French King, was soon on the spot, ready to enter practically on the duties of his governorship after accepting the symbols which marked the restoration of Acadia to France. By the early autumn of 1670 the fleur-de-lis of the Bourbons was again flying above the dilapidated bastions at Penobscot, the Jemseg and Port Royal.

The period now coming under review was a pivotal epoch in the

history of Acadia as a French colony. There was a complete breaking with the past, and with past methods. New forces come into operation; new relationships are established; new prospects are opened up. This period will determine the next; and the next is the end not of the French race, but of French rule in Acadia. Nevertheless it is believed that an account of it, adequate for the purposes of this introduction can be compressed into the space of a few paragraphs of moderate length.

Much of the current flows through a rather commonplace region. Romantic incidents and picturesque careers such as marked earlier periods of the Acadian story are largely wanting. As the interest and significance of the narrative turn on the new directions things take, the new situations which are created, from time to time, it will be enough to present, with necessary brief connectives, the salient features, the decisive turning points, which mark the progress of this renewed attempt at Acadian colonisation. The fact that in a political sense Acadia is now entering upon a distinctively new phase of her history as a colony of France deserves especial notice. Now for the first time she comes under a regular system of colonial administration. The mother country, indeed, possessed and exercised the full rights of sovereignty, but this exercise for the most part consisted in granting her soil and territorial waters to some favored company or adventurer to be exploited for their own gain. Worst of all, virtual sovereignty was assumed to go with the patents. Each landed magnate, each holder of a fort, or of a fishing privilege, or of a fur-trading post was practically a "law unto himself" and to all within his domain. The lack of a supreme central authority, to which all accounting had to be made, impartial, vigilant, and capable of enforcing its decrees, had so far been the misfortune and the curse of Acadia. Even attempts at colonisation of approximately legitimate type, and under what seemed distinct national auspices and sanction, had failed because of the looseness of the ties, both governmental and financial, which bound France and her colony together. As time wore on, so far as regular, systematic, consistent control from the centre was concerned, matters kept growing worse rather than better. Instead of intelligently and vigorously treating the

colony as a political unit or totality, the administration at Paris pursued a policy of division, freely sowing the seeds of jurisdictional disputes which not only proved a hindrance to all true colonial development, but often brought scandal on the fair name of France herself. From this source of evil, of which sterility and stagnation were not the only, and perhaps not the worst fruits, Acadia was to suffer no longer.

A new power was at the helm in France. Lewis XIV began his "true reign" in 1661, only six years before the Treaty of Breda. Nominally he had been on the throne, and all writs had run under his name, for the previous eighteen years. At his real accession in 1661 he was a young man of twenty-two. His long minority, or regal childhood, had been spent in seclusion, absolute or at least penumbral, under the tutelage of Mazarin, who all those years was the real power behind the throne. Coming into view on Mazarin's death, Lewis was to none more a stranger than to his own subjects. To the dismay of the crowned heads of Europe and to the astonishment even of his own statesmen and courtiers, he emerged from the shadows which had enveloped him, to prove himself from the very start every inch a king, to give France its most glorious reign, and of all names in the world to make his own, the most dreaded, almost to his death, far down the stream of time in 1715. It is not necessary to discuss here the political and governmental conceptions which shaped his policy as the ruler of a great nation and often the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. It is more to the purpose to allude to that love of orderly routine, and of systematic attention to minute detail in the transaction of all public business without regard to its relative importance, which so eminently characterized him and made him willing to sacrifice so much time and personal convenience, to be sure that his orders were carried out to the letter. He made a business of business, and impressed the principle of routine exactitude on all his subordinates. In Jean Baptiste Colbert, who for the first twenty-two years of his personal reign, was his trusted minister in the civil and colonial spheres, he had by his side a man after his own heart so far as system and order and thoroughness in the transaction of public business were concerned. The King and his minister

began their joint official careers by instituting a minute enquiry into the condition of all branches of the public service.

In due time the investigators reached the affairs of New France. The young King was surprised to find that Acadia had been for fourteen years in the possession of a rival nation, and that Canada was suffering from the evils which had led to the loss of her smaller sister,—undue assumption of power by subordinates hidden from view by the intervening ocean, diversion of public resources to private ends, envying and strife instead of helpful co-operation among officials of the same government, above all, lack of effective oversight and interposition on the part of the Crown itself. When they had ascertained the true causes of the anaemic condition of the colonial body politic, the King and Colbert proceeded to search out and apply the proper restoratives. No general remedy seemed so obvious as the placing and keeping of the reins of power more directly in the hands of the King and his minister. It is not necessary to enter into minute detail as to the machinery by which this general purpose was to be accomplished, nor to consider how far the system of colonial government devised for Canada vindicated the wisdom and foresight of its framers. The new Canadian Constitution established in 1663, remained essentially unchanged during the exact century of Canadian history yet to be accomplished. It was a sort of modified triumvirate,—a Governor-General, an Intendant, a Supreme Court or Council. Restored to France by the Treaty of Breda, potentially in 1667, actually in 1670, Acadia was made a dependency or sub-colony of Canada and brought within the scope of the revised constitution of the main colony so far as her subordinate relation would allow. She was honored with the privilege of having a Governor of her own, appointed by the Crown, or in case of vacancy left unfilled by the Crown, nominated by the Governor-General at Quebec under the title of Commandant.¹

The jurisdiction of the Council does not seem to have extended to the sub-colony. Far otherwise with the Intendant (Superintendent) the controlling factor in the governmental machinery. Nom-

¹ Nearly one-half of the acting Governors in Acadia from 1670 to 1713 were Commandants nominated by the Governor-General at Quebec.

inally his spheres of oversight were justice, police and finance. In reality, in a quiet, but most effective way, he ruled everywhere outside of the strictly military and judicial domains, while as regards the latter, he had the power if he chose to exercise it, of overriding the regular tribunals. In short so comprehensive was the authority vested in the Intendant that his commission authorised him "to order everything as he shall see just and proper." The Intendant's functions extended to Acadia, for his official designation was "Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland, and other countries in Northern France." It so happened that when Acadia swung into line as a regular colony, or sub-colony of France, the office was occupied by the greatest man perhaps that ever filled it during the century of its continuance.

When in 1670 Acadia became once more an actual French possession, the King of France was Le Grand Monarch, Louis XIV; the Prime Minister, Jean Jaques Colbert; the Governor-General, the Seigneur de Courcelles; the Intendant, Jean Jaques Talon, the Governor of Acadia, the Chevalier Grand-fontaine. A stately array of functions and functionaries surely, seeing that the entire population of Acadia at that time was quite below five hundred.

Port Royal did not resume its former rank as capital of Acadia. Grand Fontaine established himself at Penobscot. Two reasons brought this about; the fort at Port Royal had rotted down; that at Jemseg was little better; there were no others but the shack at Penobscot. A strong reason for the selection is to be found in the fact that stress was laid by Talon, the Intendant and others on the importance of establishing a line of communication between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy, by means of the Penobscot and the Chaudiere.

Shortly after his installation, that he might be in position to report to his royal master just how many loyal subjects he had in his newly recorded colony of Acadia, Grand-Fontaine caused a comprehensive census to be taken. It is said, perhaps not on absolutely good authority, that the King shed tears over the return. There were at that date (1671) in all Acadia, including the twenty-four soldiers with the Governor at Penobscot, just four hundred and

forty-one souls, of whom three hundred and sixty-three were at Port Royal. The fourteen at Pubnico and the fourteen at Cape Negro probably dated back directly or by descent, to the days of La Tour's fort on that shore. The seven at St. Peter's were no doubt connected in some way with Denys' establishment at that place. No conjecture is hazarded regarding the thirteen at Musquodoboit or the three at Riviere aux Rochelois. Colbert, Courcelles and Talon were men of statesmanlike proportions. It savors of the pathetic to learn of the earnestness with which they threw themselves into the effort to restore the fortunes of Acadia, what long letters they wrote and received, in order to solve the problem of repopling a few bare places in the wilderness. The practical result of their activity was the despatch the following year (1671) of a shipload of emigrants—sixty in all—whom it was proposed to settle along the projected "short line" from Bangor to Quebec, but who found more comfortable quarters at Port Royal.

An event seemingly insignificant, but really important enough to be preserved in every record of this period, occurred towards the end of Grand-fontaine's administration. Jacob Burgeois¹ of Port Royal, followed soon after by Pierre Arsenault² of the same place, took up lands, to be followed in due course by the establishment of homes, on the banks of the Missiguash,³ one of the rivers emptying into Chignecto Bay (Cumberland Basin). This was the beginning of a movement subsequently widely extended. The de Razilly settlers when brought back to Port Royal from La Have, finding suitable conditions at their doors, had resumed the work of marsh reclamation so familiar to them in their native France, and which, with the cultivation of the soil so reclaimed, soon became the staple industry of their race in Acadia. The site selected for a home by Bourgeois, within close approximation can be determined. It was on the slightly elevated ridge of fertile upland known as Fort Lawrence, and pretty nearly central to the largest body of alluvial marsh lands in the Maritime Provinces.

¹ The name Bourgeois is very common in New Brunswick.

² Occurring with great frequency in Prince Edward Island.

³ The isthmian river which separates Nova Scotia from New Brunswick.

A year or two later a similar impulse led Pierre Theriot, Claude Landry, Antoine Landry and René Le Blanc¹ to migrate to Minas and associate their names forever with the historic Grand Pré and the story of Evangeline. This was the beginning of quite an extensive immigration. In no part of Acadia did the Acadian Frenchman find conditions so much to his liking as on the banks of the rivers emptying into the Basin of Minas. The immense stretches of marsh land in the Chignecto region presented difficulties with which he could not easily cope. Of the nineteen or twenty Basin of Minas rivers there is scarcely one whose margins do not bear testimony to the skill with which he used the dyking spade.

In 1673, Grand-fontaine was succeeded by Chambly, an officer we are told of the Carignan-Salieres regiment. As connection with that body of troops is often referred to by writers on Canadian history as a particular mark of honor, an inquiry into the regimental record may not be amiss. We learn that the regiment was originally raised by the Prince of Carignan in Savoy, but was soon employed in the service of France and finally incorporated in the latter's army. Sent to assist the Austrians in their fight with the unspeakable Turk, it won great distinction by its bravery. Finally as the first body of regular French troops to cross the Atlantic, it was sent to Canada to overwhelm the Iroquois. When in Canada it was commanded by a Colonel de Salieres. Hence the hyphenated name. To wear the badge of the Carignan-Salieres was a coveted distinction. We further learn that when the regiment was finally disbanded, the officers received grants of land in the beautiful valley of the Richilieu, where many of them, Chambly included, have left their names on surrounding towns and counties.

During the governorship of Grand-fontaine and Chambly, Penobscot seems to have been the recognized capital of Acadia, and years were destined to elapse before Port Royal, though comprising nineteen-twentieths of the population of the county, regained her metropolitan honors. Soulanges, the immediate successor of Chambly, died shortly after his appointment. His successor, Michael Le Neuf,

¹Landry and le Blanc, the latter particularly, are among the most familiar Acadian names. Theriot is not so common.

Sieur de la Valliere, a member of the Potherie family, and so of noble birth, was already in Acadia, owner of a fine fishing station at the mouth of the St. John, and lord of a seigniory at Chignecto extending from River Philip to Memramcook.¹

Not satisfied with the share of this world's goods coming to him legitimately, the new Commandant licensed New England fishermen to ply their vocation in the forbidden Acadian waters, taking care to pocket the license fees, the fee for each smack being fixed at five pistoles. This procedure naturally evoked loud remonstrance from French fishermen and traders and eventually cost la Valliere his governorship. During his official period the seat of government was his own seigniorial mansion, situated on a small marsh-island some thirty acres in extent, lying between the Missiguash river and the glacia of Fort Cumberland, and for the past one hundred and fifty years known as Tonge's Island.²

La Valliere was succeeded by one Perrot, who at the time of receiving the appointment to Acadia was filling the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Montreal. He had spent a year in jail at Quebec, followed by his being sent home to France for a further term in the Bastile. It is a surprise to learn that he was a relative of the illustrious Talon, and a still greater one that this relationship had something to do with his getting such good appointments.

About this time two interesting events occurred. Visits to Acadia by the Intendant, M. de Meulles, and the Bishop of Quebec, the Rev. M. de Saint Vallier. The Intendant purchased a barque—all the chief Acadian settlements were accessible by water—for the purpose of thoroughly examining the country. A census was taken in each settlement. The total population amounted to eight hundred and fifty-eight souls. Eight hundred and fifty-five acres of land were under cultivation.

The Bishop left us an interesting epitome of his tour.

From the Miramichi he descended to Richibucto and Shediac.

¹ It happened to include the lands at Fort Lawrence granted to Bourgeois and others, but the rights of these grantees were not disturbed.

² So-called from Col. Winckworth-Tonge, who commanded the engineers at the siege of Fort Beau-sejour in 1755 and who received a grant of land in which this island was included.

Then he crossed over to the Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) and thence by the Petite Passage and Fronsac (Strait of Canso) to Chedabucto (Guysboro) where he crossed over to Beaubassin (Port Lawrence) by land, suffering greatly, he tells us, from mosquitoes. Here, that is presumably in the whole Chignecto region, he found over one hundred and fifty souls. Ten years had elapsed since the commencement of this settlement. In the first years he goes on to report these people had suffered many hardships, it being necessary to construct dykes to redeem most of the land. They had now large pastures of cattle and raised some grain, but were principally engaged in the fisheries. For want of communication they had been unable to obtain clothing, and in their necessity had been forced to make coarse cloth for their own use. At Port Royal there were six hundred souls, dispersed four or five leagues along the river.

By 1687 Perrot's conduct had become so scandalous and his example so demoralizing that the Crown summarily cancelled his commission and ordered him to return to France to answer for his misconduct. Perrot snapped his fingers at the order of recall and remained in the colony, where his presence was felt to sensibly lower the tone of public morality. That his successor de Menneval might avoid his evil ways and enter on the governorship with an intelligent forecast of what was expected of him, a "letter of instructions" communicated to him the points to which it was the royal pleasure that he should pay particular attention,—to propagate the faith, to repress immorality, to keep Acadian youth from adopting the wild life of the woods, to encourage agriculture and horticulture, to discourage litigation, to make careful inquiry into the resources of the colony, to select sites for new settlements, to protect the litoral fishing grounds from foreign invasion, and not to fail in preparing and transmitting to France the annual memoir and census. More particular orders were given to Menneval to make Port Royal his official seat, and to put the fort in a thorough state of preparation for defence. Though soldiers and money were promised for the accomplishment of this work of repair and re-equipment, the Port Royal fort when threatened by Phipps three years later was found in such a defenceless condition, that Manneval capitulated without striking a blow.

In 1680, England and France were in armed conflict again after an uninterrupted peace of twenty-two years. In this war, an inevitable sequel of that momentous event in English history known as the Revolution of 1688, New England and New France were involved as a necessary consequence of their respective colonial relations. The era of peace now at an end seemed at its beginning to forecast a golden opportunity for the growth and development of Acadia. While it would appear natural to pause here and consider how far up to this point, reasonable anticipations have been fulfilled, it is probably wiser to defer review until the whole chapter of Acadian history, in its narrower sense, has been concluded. Just one accomplished fact may be mentioned, and that with satisfaction. The Acadian race has rooted itself in the soil, and is growing even though it be slowly; yet perhaps not so slowly after all, for it has doubled between 1671 and 1685. The details of the six years' war which, having begun in America, as far as actual conflict was concerned, in the spring of 1690 did not end until the autumn of 1697, cannot be given here. If attempted, the story so far as the operations of both belligerents were concerned, would be an almost continuous repetition. Frontenac in command at Quebec, was beyond question the ablest in the whole line of Canadian Governors. He had many advantages on his side. His own country was immune from attack by land, and practically so by sea. He had with him a considerable body of trained troops, whose number he multiplied many times over by the skill with which he utilized the terribly effective warriors of the forest. His foes in New England were indeed brave, intelligent and resourceful, but their population was so located and distributed as to invite the very mode of attack which he proposed to launch against them. The forest stretched unbroken from the St. Lawrence to the backyards of the settlers in northern New England. Let him name any point of attack he liked, his tawny allies could take him there through the wilderness as straight and true as though guided by a compass over a treeless plain. From first to last Frontenac held to one unvarying line of policy. Each summer three or four expeditions of which Indians formed the predominating element, left the St. Lawrence Valley, threaded their way through the trackless

forest towards the site of some doomed town, village or hamlet—Palmouth, or Wells or Deerfield—emerged at the right spot, and then with tomahawk and firebrand brought death and ruin to the settlers and their homes.

Against such attacks the people of New England could not retaliate in kind. They took their revenge by raiding the coasts of Acadia and were not careful to perform this operation in an over-careful and scrupulously polite manner. And so for six dreary years this process of mutual slaughter and destruction went on. It was terminated by the Treaty of Ryswick,—which was signed by the representatives of the great powers of Europe on September 10, 1697. Grave matters in which neither New France nor New England had direct concern were settled by that celebrated treaty. Its only points of interest to them were that peace had taken the place of war, and that Acadia had been restored to France. It may be mentioned that Acadia is not mentioned by name in the treaty. The provisions of restoration are quite general, but of course include Acadia within their scope: "The lord King of Great Britain shall restore to the lord the most Christian King all the regions, islands, cities and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the French possessed before the present war was declared." Commissioners were appointed to settle the boundary between Massachusetts and Acadia, the former claiming as far east as the St. Croix, the latter as far west as the Kennebec. The commission made some progress in the work assigned it prior to the renewal of war in 1702, and then vanished.

It is understood that it had decided to agree on the St. George, a river between the Penobscot and the Kennebec, as a compromise solution of the problem. As to the internal history of Acadia during the period covered by the late war, the interest mainly centres in the movements of a French officer named Villebon, brother of Menneval, ex-Governor of the colony, whom at the outset of the struggle, Sir William Phipps had dispossessed of Port Royal. Sent at the outbreak of the war direct from France with men and supplies to strengthen the various Acadian posts, Villebon on his ship *The Union* arrived at Port Royal just too late to be of any service

to his brother, who at that juncture happened to be a prisoner on board of Phipp's vessel on her way back to Boston. The English commander, before sailing away after his capture, had organized a provisional government—mainly of a dummy character—to administer affairs under "the Crown of England and the government of Massachusetts." Compelling the inhabitants to swear allegiance to England, six of them he constituted into a council, with a sergeant of the little garrison left behind as president. There was nothing—particularly nothing in this council—to prevent Villebon from quietly taking possession and re-establishing French rule. But what Phipps had done, he can do again. The general impression was that he had not really left the coasts. There was nothing to be gained by a temporary occupation. So Villebon decided to make absolute security the prime consideration. For such security he found on inquiry that no available place offered such signal advantages as Jemseg on the St. John River. There he would be off the track of the New England cruisers, and at a strategic point for successfully manipulating the forces of friendly Indians. To Jemseg he repaired at once, leaving instructions for his ship to follow. Unfortunately, at this juncture two piratical crafts entered the Basin and found abundant prey awaiting them. The "*Union*" instead of sailing to the Jemseg was added to the fleet of the pirates. Villebon, who was a man most forceful and resourceful, faced the emergency bravely. Remaining at Jemseg for a time, he then somehow managed to connect with one of Frontenac's ships and get a passage to France. In a position to give the minister first-hand information about affairs in Acadia, he was listened to with great attention, and was appointed Governor of the colony, sovereignty over which France still claimed. He made his capital at Fort Jemseg, where he had as his principal associate his brother, Port Neuf. The brothers made it their chief aim to keep the Indians duly inoculated with hostility to the English. Finding the lowlands around Jemseg liable to overflow from spring freshets, they moved farther up the St. John to the mouth of the Nashwaak, nearly opposite the present city of Fredericton. At the close of the war, in 1697, Villebon was able to carry out what he had before considered to be the true policy for the French in Acadia, the centralization of the colony

at the harbor of St. John, where natural conditions for fortification existed, and where the valley of the main river and those of its tributary streams afforded ample scope for agricultural settlement and where especially a capacious and sheltered harbour offered accommodation for ships of all sizes and all classes.

FROM THE TREATY OF RYSWICK TO THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.

1697-1713.

On the restoration of peace by the Treaty of Ryswick, Villebon, assuming full power of governorship proceeded to put into execution his views regarding the proper site for a capital. The old La Tour fort was still standing "four square" at the mouth of the St. John. The masonry needed a little pointing, the moat a little deepening, the palisades some renewal. Proper provision was made for the accommodation of the garrison, and for the eighth or ninth time the capital of Acadia changed its location.

It is said to have been a characteristic of official life in Acadia that no matter what the Governor might do, or not do, there was always somebody ready to traverse his conduct or views at court. The principle held good in this case. Friends of Port Royal, which place since 1670 had been pretty generally in a state of total or partial eclipse, sent over vigorous remonstrance. The government sent back an engineer—perhaps a prejudiced one—to examine and report. In due time the report on the natural shipping facilities of the port came in, to the effect that "the harbor was too small, and that the difficulties of navigation made a permanent establishment there inadvisable." With so precise a finding from his official adviser on matters of engineering, the minister decided to override the wishes of Villebon, and gave an order for the removal of the whole machinery of government to Port Royal. While this order was awaiting execution, Villebon died, whether from the shock produced by disappointment or from some less special cause, is not known. The engineer's depreciatory estimate of their chief city's fine harbour is naturally resented by the people of New Brunswick.¹

¹ It was the fate of France in her schemes of colonisation to commit a series of stupendous blunders, but the greatest of all was, perhaps, the abandonment of the largest river and most fertile territory in Acadia on such shallow

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

This war is a very celebrated one, quite historic. It bears a distinctive name, the War of the Spanish Succession, and recalls the names of famous battles like Blenheim and Oudenarde, and of great generals like Marlborough and Turenne. But what difference can it make to the Indian who is brandishing his tomahawk on Scarborough Beach, or to the Acadian peasant who is trying to save his haystack set on fire by Church at Chignecto, who shall succeed to the Spanish throne when the poor weakling now occupying it shall have passed away?

As far as America was concerned, the War of the Spanish Succession was conducted on practically the same lines as the preceding one. On the part of France it was inaugurated by a deadly Indian raid on the eastern towns and valleys of Massachusetts. Colonel Benjamin Church retaliated by ravaging the French settlements at Penobscot and Minas. As time wore on, it was seen that the conditions of the previous war were somewhat, if not completely, reversed, and that the general development of events portended ultimate victory to the English, or perhaps, rather, the New England, cause. While it was the good fortune of France to have as her last Governor a very able and truly estimable man, Subercase, the government at home was in no position to render him prompt and effective support. Just as Subercase was taking up his residence at Port Royal, Marlborough was winning his great victory at Ramillies. For France, things in Europe soon went from bad to worse. Supplies and re-enforcements reached Port Royal irregularly and in greatly diminishing quantities. Subercase faced adverse conditions with a bold front and there were occasional gleams of hope. A combined fleet of the New England colonies was driven off after an eleven days' siege of Port Royal. Two years later (1769) England failed to send a promised fleet and army to co-operate with the colonies in a grand attack on Quebec, thus ren-

pretences. The harbor which L'Herbille alleged would not hold three vessels has many a day since seen more tonnage anchored in its bosom at one time than the government of France sent out to Acadia in any fifty years that it possessed the country." Hannay *History of Acadia*

dering abortive a scheme on which much hope was based. Gradually, however, France's prospects for ultimate success began to darken. Nothing could arrest the victorious progress of her enemies in Europe, while each advancing step they made reduced her ability to send succor to her dependencies in America. On the other hand, the colonies in New England, having recovered from their dread of Indian forays, or rather having become strong enough to defy them, felt justified in planning an aggressive blow at the vitals of either Canada or Acadia. Applied to for aid, the government at home suggested Port Royal as a much more vulnerable and perhaps not less vital point than Quebec, and offered to supply, if its suggestions were accepted, a good sized fleet, well manned with marines, to help the undertaking along. Colonel Nicholson, who was in charge of the expedition now coming into shape, took on board about three times as many New England militia men as the exigencies of the case demanded, and sailed straight for Port Royal. When Subercase took note of the outfit about to attack his ramshackle, ill-equipped fort, he saw that continued resistance would be hopeless. All the same he went through the outward formalities of a "no surrender" attitude, with, of course, the intention of staying proceedings as soon as the danger zone was reached.

The end was approaching. Within two years of Nicholson's capture of Port Royal, the negotiations which culminated in the general pacification at Utrecht were well under way. Ambitious projects rather than great achievements marked this closing period in America. Stimulated by his success at Port Royal, Nicholson revived his scheme for grand front-and rear-attacks on Canada. His appeal for imperial sanction and aid met with a prompt and generous response. A fleet of warships, conveying transports laden to the gunwale with Marlborough veterans, was sent to the St. Lawrence, with orders to call on the way at Boston for a large quota of New England militiamen, while Nicholson himself should collect at Albany a conglomerate force of colonial troops and Five Nations Indians, to deliver a deadly blow from the rear when the opportune moment should arrive. But the whole scheme miscarried. Unskillful pil~~ot~~ages—pilots always have to bear the blame for naval accidents on the St. Lawrence—dashed a large number of the transports on the rocks near Anticosti and drowned

nearly a thousand men. A few days later Admiral Walker and his surviving ships, sailing east, had passed Cape North on their way back to England. Canada was safe for another half century.

Colonel Vetch, left in command at Port Royal, had obtained leave of absence to take part with Nicholson in the campaign against Canada. Before his return so vigorous an assault was planned and launched against the fort that for a time the situation was highly critical. The main body of the assailants consisted of Malicete Indians from Penobscot, who succeeded in stirring up sympathy and securing co-operation from the Acadians of the neighborhood. Opportune interventions occurred. The vessel conveying ammunition to the attacking force was captured. A reinforcement of two hundred men from Boston came in at the very moment when aid was most required. When Port Royal comes to be dealt with at the approaching congress at Utrecht, she will present herself as a *de facto* possession of the British Crown.

In Europe, Marlborough continued to win his brilliant victories almost to the very eve of peace. England, however, was led to wonder whether these victories were worth all they were costing her, if so be she could obtain, in connection with peace, ample security for the maintenance of her constitutional settlement, and a really effective guarantee that the same brow should never wear the crowns of France and Spain. When the time came for actual negotiations, this view presented itself the more strongly from the fact that in consequence of a revolution in domestic politics the party by which the coalition against France had been originated and maintained was deprived of all share in determining the conditions of peace. With the exception of the German Emperor, the other parties to the coalition were even more anxious for a pacific settlement than England. Lewis XIV was ready to make large sacrifices and concessions to save his kingdom from disintegration. His grandson on the throne of Spain had no will but his. European affairs were on the eve of re-adjustment, both governmentally and territorially.

The expression, "Treaty of Utrecht," may give rise to a misconception. It suggests what never had an existence—a comprehensive formal contract or treaty negotiated and signed by the plenipoten-

aries of the European Powers, assembled at Utrecht. A number of treaties were signed at Utrecht, the more important of them on April 11th, 1713, treaties, for instance, between England and France, between England and Spain, between France and the States General of Holland, between France and Portugal, in general, between each member of the coalition against France and France's ally and protégé, Spain. These compacts were all treaties in the proper sense of the term, any one of them as much as any other. They were not parts of a comprehensive whole, known as the Treaty of Utrecht, for no such whole existed; each was a treaty in its own organic unity and completeness. The entire series constitutes what is appropriately called—though it has no documentary counterpart—the Peace, or Pacification, of Utrecht.

Of the treaties by which it was sought to effect a permanent pacification in Europe, the one between England and France was beyond question the most important. Reference is not called for here to its main provisions. There may be something in the charge brought against the political party which negotiated and ratified it, to the effect that there was an ignominious failure to take advantage of the splendid opportunities won by the sword of Marlborough. Our interest lies in the contents of Articles X, XII and XIII, which enable us to trace an important step in the evolution of the colonial empire of Britain. France held firmly to Canada, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island, but withdrew her claims to Hudson Bay territory and Newfoundland. As for Acadia and St. Christopher, Article XII provides as follows:

"The most Christian King shall transfer to the Queen of Great Britain, the day of exchange of the present Treaty of Peace, authoritative letters and acts which will guarantee the cession made in perpetuity to the Queen and Crown of Great Britain, of the Island of St. Christopher, which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty will possess for future exclusively; of Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia, in its entirety, according to its ancient limits, as also the town of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal; and generally of all depending upon the said lands and islands of this Country, with the Sovereignty."

Article XII would appear to show that Nova Scotia and Acadia were considered by the negotiators of the treaty to be but different names for one and the same territory, and that the territory in its entirety was ceded to England.¹ This, however, may be but a superficial impression. As a matter of fact, controversy, acute and involving important consequences, is destined to arise over the meaning and intent of these seemingly plain words. That controversy need not be anticipated. It is enough to write in a general way that Acadia has disappeared, and that Nova Scotia has taken its place.

NOVA SCOTIA.

One is almost surprised to learn that during the progress of a war that with one comparatively brief interruption (1697-1702), had lasted from 1689 to 1710, the Acadian people had maintained a normal rate of numerical growth. At the cession the total population of Acadia may be placed in round numbers at about 2,000. Of these some were fishermen on the coasts, a few artisans in the hamlets, a few hunters in the forests, but the great majority were farmer-folk, making a living off the marshes which their own industry and skill had converted into wheat fields. The *modus operandi* of the late war had not involved a general call on the people to rush to arms. The raids of Church and kindred buccaneers were aimed at property rather than life. If there were shrinkages around Port Royal and the more exposed parts of Minas and Chignecto, these were more than made up by the development of new settlements along the creeks and small rivers in the more remote and sheltered localities. Acadia had vanished. The Acadians survived. But what was Acadia? What is Nova Scotia?

If ever negotiators of an article of cession made a muddle of their

¹ It may be of interest to notice how the places in doubt are described in the Latin of the original treaty and in the French of the French version. Latin: *Novam Scotiam, quousque sive Acadianam totam, limitibus suis antiquis comprehensam ut et Portus regii urbem, nunc Annapolim Regiam dicemus.* French: *De la Nouvelle Ecosse, autrement dite Acadie, en son entier, conformément à ses anciennes limites, comme aussi de la ville de Port Royal, maintenant appelée, Annapolim Royale.*

work, they surely were the plenipotentiaries who acted for England and France at the Congress of Utrecht. In the statement of territories ceded, "Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia in its entirety, conformably to its ancient limits, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal," where everything should be as clear and unmistakable as language could make it, almost every word is ambiguous and provocative of controversy. Nova Scotia and Acadia are treated as synonymous names for a given area. In the expression, "Its ancient limits," *its* is generally taken as referring to Acadia, though its natural grammatical affiliation would seem to be with Nova Scotia. The addition of "together with the city of Port Royal" — which virtually places Port Royal outside of both Nova Scotia and Acadia—completes and accentuates the confusion. England took it for granted that the Acadia ceded to her, whether exactly coincident in boundaries with Nova Scotia or not, was the Acadia over which France had been expressly exercising sovereignty from the Treaty of Breda until the loss of Port Royal in 1710.

The precise boundaries of the Acadia ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht remained an unsettled question, from time to time producing considerable sub-acute irritation, until settled fifty years later by an appeal to arms. A verdict won by the sword cannot be regarded as an adjudication on the intrinsic merits of the winning case. The English diplomatists laid chief stress on considerations of reason and common sense, contending that it was absurd to draw a distinction between Acadia, the country for whose possession the two nations had been fighting for nearly a quarter of a century, and Acadia as actually ceded to one of them, when the struggle was over. The fact that the preliminary articles of the treaty itself take the Acadia to be disposed of in the broader and more natural sense is of so decisive a character that it is by no means surprising, that advocates of the newer views fight entirely shy of it. At the same time, it is going too far to call the French case a trumped up one, a mere desperate clutching at a straw. The verbiage of the article of cession is confessedly confused and confusing. That Acadia had at different times stood for different geographical areas was a fact beyond question. The coupling of Nova Scotia and Acadia as synonyms, and

the apparent dissociation of Port Royal from both, afforded a fine field for the exercise of gifts of legal sophistication and of adroit verbal quibbling. At Utrecht, France had put forth desperate efforts to retain Acadia in its entirety, mainland and islands alike. For such retention she was willing to pay dearly, to abandon Placentia, surrender her rights in the fisheries of Newfoundland generally, and throw in as many West India islands as England might care to take. As has been noticed, the compromise finally adopted gave to England mainland Acadia, with its involved boundary dispute, and Newfoundland, with fishery privileges on certain coasts conceded to France, while the latter country retained the islands of Cape Breton and St. John. England seems to have foreseen what a menace to Nova Scotia a strongly fortified post on the Cape Breton shore must prove to be. The discussions as to the final disposal of that strategically situated island were long and animated. On the part of Queen Anne a proposal was submitted that the two sovereigns should "enjoy" it in common, with the proviso that neither of them should "raise or suffer to be raised any fortification" in any part which the subjects of each might respectively occupy." The response of the French plenipotentiary, the Marquis of Torcy, to this suave proposition was dignified, but decisive, "As the perfect good understanding that the King proposes to establish between his subjects and those of the Queen of Great Britain, will, if it please God, be one of the principal advantages of the peace, we must remove all propositions capable of disturbing this happy union. * * * It is wisdom on the part of the King to preserve to himself the only isle which will hereafter open an entrance into the river of St. Lawrence; it would be absolutely shut to the ships of His Majesty, if the English, masters of Acadia and Newfoundland, were to possess the island of Cape Breton in common with the French, and Canada would be lost to France as soon as the war should be renewed between the two nations, which God forbid; but the most secure means to prevent it is often to think that it may come to pass. * * * The King reserves to himself the natural and common liberty, as all sovereigns have, of erecting in the Gulf and in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, as well as in the isle of Cape Breton, such fortifications as His Majesty shall judge necessary."

The right of the King of France to erect fortifications according to his royal pleasure was ultimately placed beyond dispute by express terms in the Treaty of Utrecht. "The island of Cape Breton, as also all others, both in the mouth of the river of St. Lawrence and in the Gulf of the same name, shall hereafter belong of right to the King of France, who shall have liberty to fortify any place or places."

The question of a fortified naval station in Cape Breton had been mooted, but not very seriously pressed, before the dismemberment of Acadia, though the arguments in favor of such an establishment were undeniably strong. The fur trade as a basis of colonisation was pretty well played out. An emporium of commerce, near the main ocean highway between Quebec and France, and rendered secure from attack by both natural and artificial defences, and thus protecting the agricultural colony round about it, was what the interests of France imperatively demanded. And as to the time of war, what could be more advantageous than a fortified harbor—a place where her fleets could rendezvous and organise for attacks upon her enemies—or to which they could sail for refuge, when storms threatened or hostile navies proved too strong? The statesman who presented to the Minister of War at Paris these eminently rational considerations could not get a hearing. Just then Marlborough was not allowing the Minister much time to think about putting up fortifications on an uninhabited island in America. But the war was now over, and the new conditions created by the Treaty of Utrecht had to be faced. By a few strokes of the pen, France had lost the Atlantic seaboard from New England to Labrador, save only the coasts of Cape Breton. What was theoretically a sound policy when urged a few years before by the Intendants of Justice and Marine was now an absolute necessity, if free intercommunication between France and the St. Lawrence was to be effectively maintained.

Some half century before this, in the interest of her fisheries, France had established a small colony on the south coast of Newfoundland, to which became attached the name of Plaisance (Placentia). This act was in derogation of the proprietary rights secured for England by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the English negotiators at Utrecht were charged to see that the treaty included a provision reme-

dying the wrong. An article provided for the immediate abandonment of Placentia by the French trespassers. Costabelle, the Governor, sent the inhabitants and garrison, without unnecessary delay, to Cape Breton, where they found quarters of some kind in the south-eastern harbours. Obligated to await at Placentia the arrival of the English Governor that the operations of surrender and delivery might be performed with befitting regard to propriety, Costabelle despatched a corps of engineers to examine and report upon the respective merits of the Cape Breton harbours. The chief competitors for selection as the site of the great naval station which all agreed had become a prime necessity were St. Anne's, La Baie des Espagnols (Sydney) and Havre l'Anglais (Louisburg). First impressions favored Sydney as the most accessible and capacious of the competing harbours. One objection lay in the difficulty of fortifying so wide an entrance, and finally the objection was regarded as an insuperable one. La Ronde Denys, grandson of Nicolas Denys, the historian, lord of North Eastern Acadia, made a stout fight for St. Anne's. Admitting that Cape Breton is full of good harbours, he boldly claims that "Port Sainte Ann is without contradiction the finest harbour in the world." "My grandfather," he goes on to say, "had a fort there, the vestiges of which are yet to be seen, and the Indians tell us that he raised the finest grain in the world there, and we have likewise seen the fields which he used to till; and there are to be seen there very fine apple trees from which we have eaten very good fruit for the season." The gentlemen sent by Costabelle to investigate and compare gave their verdict in favor of St. Anne's. Guided by their judgment, the Governor General at Quebec and Costabelle himself united in advising the Minister of Marine to select St. Anne's. Gradually, however—the Marine department was taking time to consider it—the pendulum began to swing in the direction of Havre à l'Anglais. Costabelle, appointed Governor of the new colony, took up his official residence there, and eventually became much impressed with the advantages which the harbour possessed in its proximity to the open sea, its facility of access, its great depth of water, its successful defiance of ice-making frosts. Havre à l'Anglais was the final choice of the government at home. Its name was changed to Louisburg; that of the

island itself to Isle Royale. Article XIV of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the situation of the Acadians is defined, is as follows:

"It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the Most Christian King in pursuance of this Treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain here, and to be subjects to the kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."

A few months after the negotiation of the treaty, the terms of the above article were somewhat modified in favor of the Acadians by a letter addressed by Her Majesty Queen Anne to Governor Nicholson at Port Royal. The letter, bearing date June 23d, 1715, is as follows: "To our well beloved Francis Nicholson, Governor of our Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, etc., etc.

"Whereas, Our good brother the Most Christian King, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys, such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion. We being willing to show by some mark of our favor towards his subjects, how kind we take his compliance therein, have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under our government in Acadia and Newfoundland, that has been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late treaty of peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other of our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same, if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"By Her Majesty's Command, DARTMOUTH."

The treaty and letter together make the situation of the former Acadian people—Nova Scotians if they elect to remain on the soil—perfectly clear. They had the choice either to remain in the country,

retaining the free exercise of their religion and the ownership of all they possessed, or leave the country, taking with them all their movable goods and also the proceeds resulting from the disposal of their realty. The letter has perhaps one noticeable omission: it does not fix a limit of time for their departure, which the article of the treaty modified or extended by the letter, put at one year. Some doubt has been naturally enough expressed as to whether the extended privilege conferred by the letter is bound by the one year's limit, or is unlimited. The former view is generally accepted. The good Queen's letter bore no practical fruits. Neither was the liberty of removal from the country accorded to the Acadia people by Article XIV taken advantage of on any large scale. Against this, France claimed that she had yielded up only Acadia "conformably to its ancient limits"—the southern fringe of the peninsula, having as its northern boundary a line drawn southeasterly from Canso to Cape Fourchu. She occasionally expressed her willingness to concede the whole peninsula, granted as a favor, not acknowledged as a right. For years after the signing of the article providing for the transfer of Acadia, this difference of interpretation did not sensibly, or at least outwardly, affect the relations of the nations concerned. France, however, kept her claim well in mind, and only awaited a good opportunity to affirm and, if possible, enforce it. The actual possession of northern Acadia she regarded as an essential preliminary to the recovery of the peninsula and the winning of the continent.

By one of the articles of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the treaty in which England perpetrated the astounding folly of restoring Louisburg to France—provision was made for an international commission to inquire into the true meaning and intent of the controverted clauses in the Treaty of Utrecht; that is, to determine the real limits of Acadia. This determination has now become a "vexed question" indeed. Commissioners were duly appointed. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and William Mildmay acted for England; the Marquis de Galisoniere and M. de Silhouette for France. After repeated conferences, covering nearly four years (1750-1754), the commissioners reported that they could only agree to disagree. The "memorials" which embody their respective views and interpretations

are documents of the greatest interest and value, especially to those who are concerned with the first half century of Nova Scotian history, which largely took shape and color from the influence of this controversy, even when the nations were nominally at peace. "Both sets of documents are unusually fine examples of partisan pleadings. They are remarkably clear in their style, and most dignified and courteous in their tone. Both use every device to prejudice the reader in forming their respective sides. Both abound in the most positive declarations as to the completeness and finality of their own proofs, and the weakness of those of their opponents, and both endeavour not only to meet and answer the arguments of their opponents, but to turn them into evidence against them. Both dwell only upon those matters favorable to their respective contentions, ignoring all unfavorable evidence until forced by their opponents to consider it. But tell the truth, but not the whole truth, and are not above misrepresenting the opponent's position and even the documents they cite, in which occasionally they mix their own words with citations in a misleading manner. Both abound in verbal distinctions calculated to distract attention from the facts involved, and both make the most of the looseness in wording of documents characteristic of the time. In all of these respects, however, but especially in verbal subtleties, the French *Memoirs* surpassed the English, and this is, no doubt, for two reasons: First, the French are naturally more apt at such mental gymnastics than the English, and, second, the French had a very weak cause to sustain, one which had to be won by nimbleness of wit, if it was to be won at all.¹

If the question at issue had been determined by the text or verbiage of the article whose meaning was in dispute, the French diplomats might have scored a victory. The expression "ancient limits" must surely have a meaning, while the English Commissioners did not even pretend to claim that the boundaries for which they contended were ancient. Why were the ancient limits specified, if there was no intention of recognizing them? It was easy to show that Champlain,

¹ From "Monograph on the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick," by W. F. Ganong, M. A., Ph. D. This truly excellent production has been freely drawn on for the excerpts of the commissioners' arguments given in the text.

Lescarbot, Denys, and many other writers sustained their contention that "the ancient Acadia commenced at the extremity of the Bay Francois (Bay of Fundy) from Cape St. Mary to Cape Fourchu; that it extends along the coast and ends at Canso." As to the northern boundary of this long, narrow Acadia, if the English commissioners were not willing to accept a line from Canso to Cape St. Mary, the French would not object to a line following the central watershed. The French commissioners also laid great stress on the specific mention of Port Royal in the article as a clear indication of Port Royal's not being in Acadia, as it clearly is not, inasmuch as it is situated north of the Canso-St. Mary line. To meet the English contention that the bracketing as equivalents of Nova Scotia and Acadia, taken in connection with the undeniable fact that the Nova Scotia of Alexander extended far beyond the peninsula, completely overthrows the limitation of Acadia to either the whole or a part of the peninsula, put the French commissioners on their mettle. Dr. Gangong thinks that the identification of Nova Scotia and Acadia was the strongest argument in the English armory. In meeting it the Frenchmen certainly showed themselves past masters in the art of handling effectively the lighter weapons of debate. France, her spokesmen answered, knows nothing about Nova Scotia. She has owned no Nova Scotia, and therefore has not ceded one. What she has handed over to England is Acadia "conformably to her ancient limits." If England chooses to call the Acadia so ceded Nova Scotia, just as she calls Port Royal Annapolis Royal, it is no concern of ours. She can please herself. France is willing to abide by the treaty; indeed, she has fulfilled the treaty by ceding Acadia according to its ancient limits. Nova Scotia is a mere fanciful name, a name borne by nothing, a name in the air.¹

The arrangement whereby Placentia (Plaisance) was to be transferred from one Crown to the other took effect without unnecessary delay. Costabelle, Governor at that well-fortified fishing port, received the following instructions from Louis XIV himself: "Minis-

¹ It occurs to the compiler that the English argument based on the use of the alternatives Nova Scotia or Acadia would have been much stronger had Nova Scotia and Acadia been identical in area and boundaries.

ter de Costabelle—I have caused my orders to be given you to evacuate the town and forts of Plaisance (Placentia) and the other places of your government of Newfoundland, ceded to my dear sister, the Queen of Great Britain. I have given my orders for the equipment of the vessels necessary to make the evacuation and to transport you, with the officers, garrison, and inhabitants of Plaisance and other places of Newfoundland, to my Isle Royale, regularly called Cape Breton; but as the season is so far advanced that this cannot be done without exposing my troops and my subjects to perishing from cold and misery, and placing my vessels in evident peril of wreck, I have judged it proper to defer the transportation till the next spring." The royal letter bears date 29th September, 1713, six or seven months after the signing of the treaty. The whole colony, some fifty or sixty families at most, was transported to Isle Royale as soon as navigation opened the following season, some of the fishermen vehemently objecting to the transfer. Willing or unwilling, the vessels carried them to Isle Royale, depositing the greater part of them at Havre l'Anglais.

It is clear that while negotiations were in progress at Utrecht, and everything pointed to the restoration of Newfoundland, the cession of Acadia, and the retention by France of Cape Breton, the French King and his ministers counted on peopling the latter, which had not then a single civilized occupant, by draining the two former of their inhabitants. But the body of settlers to be brought from Placentia would count for but little. The main dependence must be on the draft from Acadia. Can patriotism, or piety, or self-interest, or the desire of England to rid herself of a nuisance, be relied on to secure for Isle Royale at the very start so desirable a nucleus of population? An Acadian migration, such as was provided for in Article XIV, Costabelle, when transferred from Placentia to Isle Royale, was actually exerting himself to bring about. The King and his ministers favored it. The Acadians themselves were the doubtful quantity. The article and Queen Anne's supplementary letter gave them a voice in the matter. This fact the home authorities fully recognised. Let us ascertain, if we can, how the proposition that they should migrate in a body from Acadia to Cape Breton struck the Acadian people themselves, how they looked on the suggestion that they should

abandon their quiet homes and prosperous plantations at Habitant or Pisiquid for a leap-in-the-dark venture into an unbroken wilderness. Happily we have at command direct evidence on this point. One of the ministers of the Most Christian King, M. de Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine, sounded through Costabelle, Father Felix Pain, Recollet missionary at Minas, a statistician, and a scholarly man, as to how the currents of public opinion were running in Acadia respecting the proposed migration. In his reply, Father Pain includes a reference to the concurrent suggestion of peopling the forests as well as the proposed clearings of Isle Royale, by moving over with the Acadians, the Micmac and Maliscete redskins, too. Here is the letter:

Aux Minas, 23d Sept., 1713.

To M. de Costabelle:

A summary of what the inhabitants here answered me: "It would be to expose us manifestly (they say) to die of hunger, burdened as we are with large families, to quit the dwelling places and clearances from which we derive our usual subsistence, without any other resource, to take rough, new lands, from which the standing wood must be removed, without any advances or assistance. One-fourth of population consists of aged persons, unfit for the labor of breaking up new lands, and who with great exertion are able to cultivate the cleared ground which supplies subsistence for them and their families. Finally, we shall answer for ourselves and for the absent, that we will never take an oath of fidelity to the Queen of Great Britain, to the prejudice of what we owe to our King, to our country and to our religion; and that if any attempt were made against one or the other of these two articles of our fidelity, that is to say, to our King and to our land, that in that case we are ready to quit all, rather than to violate in the least one of those articles. Besides, we do not yet know in what manner the English will use us. If they bother us in respect of our religion, or cut up our settlements to divide the lands with people of their nations, we will abandon them absolutely. We know, further, from the exact visit we have made, that there are no lands in the whole island of Cape Breton which would be suitable for the maintenance of our families, since there are not meadows

sufficient to nourish our cattle, from which we derive our principal subsistence. The Indians say that to shut them up in the island of Cape Breton would be to damage their liberty, and that it would be a thing inconsistent with their natural freedom and the means of providing for their subsistence. That with regard to their attachment to the King and to the French, that it is inviolable; and if the Queen of England had the meadows of Acadia, by the cession made by His Majesty of them, they, the Indians, had the woods, out of which no one could ever dislodge them and that so they wished each to remain at their posts, promising, nevertheless, to be always faithful to the French and to give them the preference in the trading for furs. In the colonies of Port Royal, Minas, Pisiquid, Cobequid, Beaubassin,¹ six thousand souls would have to be removed."

The opening sentence of this truly excellent and admirably expressed letter gave utterance to what we have every reason to believe were the feelings of the whole body of Acadian householders at that time, if not throughout the entire period during which the transportation to Cape Breton was a moot question. It was plainly for the comfort of themselves and of their families to stay where they were. Then he strikes into a truly noble strain. If called on to choose between personal interests and their duties to God and their country, the Acadian people will go into the inhospitable wilderness rather than, in the least thing, make a sacrifice of the right. Though there are no lands in the whole of Cape Breton—they are speaking of dyked marsh farmers—suitable for the maintenance of their families nor meadows sufficient to nourish their cattle, if the English—for they did not yet know how these would use them—should interfere with their religious freedom or mix them up with the people of another speech or faith, they would know how to act, they would choose to face starvation in Cape Breton, rather than to wax fat in Acadia.

The letter quoted bears date September 23d, 1713, six months after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht. It is an express interpre-

¹A mistake has evidently occurred in transcribing these figures. In Pain's own census taken the following year and preserved in the Archives of Paris, the population of the places named, exclusive of Beaubassin, is given as 1,773. At the date (1713) there could not have been more than two thousand five hundred, if so many, souls in Acadia.

tation of the views entertained, when it was written, by the Acadian people, regarding their proposed migration from Acadia to Cape Breton. The information conveyed was collected with much care, and at the expense and trouble, it would seem, of a personal visit by the writer to the proposed place of re-settlement. The general conclusion reached was unmistakable, that it was the plain duty of the Acadian people to remain where they were so long as they could do so with consciences void of offence toward God and man. It is, therefore, surprising to find in one of our standard works¹ on Acadian history the statement that "from that time (June or July, 1713) forth, the Acadians had decided to leave the province and even then were preparing to do so," and that "this departure would have been accomplished in the autumn of 1713 had it not been for the obstacles opposed thereto by Governor Vetch." It is still more surprising to find these quotations followed by an excerpt from Father Pain's letter, which the writer acknowledges to amount to a refusal on the part of the Acadian people to accept the proposed emigration to Cape Breton.² A question arises as to whether the Acadian people ever seriously and generally entertained the thought of abandoning the ground which Father Felix Pain represents them as having taken at the outset. In other words, did the anticipated crisis occur in which to keep a good conscience, they must be willing to pull up their stakes and cross the Strait of Canso?

Nothing is clearer than that for some years the government in Isle Royale put forth strenuous efforts to secure so desirable an addition to its meagre population. "M. de Costabelle, the Governor at Louisburg, was sorely vexed" at Father Felix Pain's report on the general feeling in Acadia. His successor "sent M. de la Ronde and Pinsens to Acadia to obtain from Mr. Nicholson freedom for the Acadians to withdraw with their cattle and grain to Isle Royale." In behalf of Acadians supposed to be anxious to change their place

¹ Acadia by Edmond Richard.

² Richard calls the letter "The answer of the Acadian people, dated September 23rd, 1713" and further states that it implies a refusal (i. e., to migrate in a body to Cape Breton). It is certainly difficult to see how this admission can be reconciled with previous statements that before the letter was written, the Acadians had decided to leave the Province and were engaged in active exertions to put that resolve into effect.

of residence, they also asked for time "to construct ships for the transportation of their goods and to receive from France the rigging and complete outfit for those which would be built at Port Royal and elsewhere." That is to say, the Governor at Louisburg suggests to the Governor at Annapolis the propriety of his providing any Acadians who are anxious to leave his jurisdiction with facilities for doing so. As to the inner feelings and wishes of the great bulk of the Acadians themselves, our first information as to a change from the general sentiment portrayed in Pain's letter or report has to do with individuals rather than the community as a whole, to "several inhabitants of Port Royal, of Minas and of Beaulassin, who are reported by the Governor at Louisburg as unable to get a permit of withdrawal from the authorities at Annapolis. But there soon began to appear in the documents more comprehensive statements, which, taken at their face, seem to represent entire Acadia as chafing under the fetters which prevent her wholesale migration. It is noticeable that such representations generally emanate from Louisburg, where governors appear remarkably well posted on the aspirations and purposes of the people whom they are trying so hard to bring under their jurisdiction. Costabell is in a position to inform the ministry at Paris that "the Acadians of Minas (Father Pain's parish) had not sown their lands that year, that they had grain to live on for two years, and had kept themselves ready to abandon their country," and that "the Acadians were determined to abandon all in order to leave the country."

As a matter of fact, not only was there no such general abandonment of their native soil by the Acadians, it cannot be said that Isle Royale received even a respectable fraction of ~~its~~ European population from Acadia. And with much deference to all who think differently, the opinion is hazarded that this was primarily due to the home-loving instincts of the Acadian people, to their clear insight into the issues involved, to their intelligent conviction that if they should yield to persuasion, it would simply be a case of one's being overpersuaded to his own hurt. Every condition which existed when Father Pain made his report to Pontchartrain, and interpreted the views of the Acadians, remained substantially unaltered. The anticipated clash between conscience and self-interest had not arisen. The

Acadian farmer still sat under his own vine and fig tree. As he quietly smoked his pipe, his eye would glance every now and then over his beloved marsh lands, resplendent with golden grain. The church, with her ever accessible altar, was just a little up the road. It is true that officers of the government at Annapolis had pestered him with an oath not altogether to his liking, but so far he had suffered no ill consequence from refusing to take it. If he, in duty to some great interest, must tear himself away from his pleasant home, he would like to engage in something better than helping Costabelle and Saint Ovide in building bastions and digging moats at Louisburg. It is a significant fact that during the whole period of alleged agitation over the question of withdrawal, when the whole community is represented as chafing under the fetters which bound it to Acadia, that same Acadia pursuing the peaceful paths of industry had grown both in wealth and numbers as never before in a like period. That the project of transferring the population of Acadia across the Strait of Canso to Isle Royale never advanced a step beyond the concept stage is clear. It did not develop into an actual enterprise. The air is darkened with despatches and letters, but there is little else.

The attempts of successive Annapolis governors to secure from the Acadian population of Nova Scotia oaths of allegiance to the British Crown must receive at least a passing notice. Of these attempts two views have been taken. One, which Abbe Casgrain sets forth in no hesitating manner, is that the oath was but a tricky device to prevent migration from the province. Once sworn in as British subjects, the Acadians would pass completely under British control, and lose all rights guaranteed them under the Treaty of Utrecht. The other view, more general in its scope, recognises the elementary rights of a state to test the fealty of the population occupying its territory.

The earliest opportunity for applying this test occurred on the coming to the throne of the first Hanoverian monarch, King George I. Deputy Governor Caulfield despatched two officials, a Mr. Capoon and a Mr. Button, through the settlements to proclaim the new King and invite, or order, everybody to swear allegiance to him. In anticipation of something of the kind, the advice of Saint Ovide, the mag-

nate at Louisburg, to whose care the interests of Acadia were confided, was sought so that no misstep should be made at such a momentous crisis. Saint Ovide forwarded elaborate instructions. Caulfields, oath was reduced to simple terms: "I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and will keep true allegiance to His Majesty, King George." Casgrain pronounces this simple little formula "a snare." If it was, few will disagree with the Abbe, that "the Acadians got out of it with as much cleverness as wisdom." "In consideration of what you have kindly published to us last Wednesday, we beg to say that we could not be more thankful for the kindness of King George, whom we recognise as the lawful sovereign of Great Britain, under whose government we would gladly remain, being such a good prince, had we not, last summer, before we knew of his accession to the throne, resolved to return under the government of our Prince, the King of France, having all given our signatures to his envoys. So that we cannot act contrary to this, until their Majesties the Kings of France and England have otherwise disposed of us; however, during our stay in Acadia we shall gladly be bound, out of gratitude, neither to do nor to undertake anything against His Majesty, King George." The people around Port Royal, instead of expressing regret at their inability to comply with the gubernatorial orders, suggested a substitute, without, however, securing its acceptance: "I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and will keep true allegiance to His Majesty, King George, while I shall remain in Acadia and Nova Scotia, and (I pray) that I may be permitted to remove whereon I may wish with all my movables and effects without hindrance from any one."

The oath question did not come up again until 1820, when personally, Phillips entered upon the first term of his governorship. The new Governor's first act was to issue a proclamation announcing to the Acadians that they must take the oath of allegiance, or in case of refusal so to do, leave the country within four months. The aforesaid Acadians successfully invoked the intervention on their behalf of Saint Ovide de Bronillan, the Governor at Louisburg. It is noticeable that Saint Ovide, in apologising for the continued presence of the Acadians in Nova Scotia when he needed them so much

in Louisburg, does not put the blame entirely on the Governor at Annapolis, but includes in the censure his own national government. "The inaction in which these people have remained up to the present time cannot be looked on as a crime on their part, when one considers the want of help necessary for their conveyance and the obstacles which the governors who preceded you have placed in their way."

In 1726, Phillips having temporarily returned to England, the unfortunate Colonel Armstrong, whom the worries and frictions of his deputy-governorship eventually drove to destruction, took up the reins of office and grappled again with the persistent oath trouble. He gave delegated powers to one Worth to arrange matters with the Acadians. Worth exceeded his instructions. The oath agreed on—a complete capitulation to the rustic non-jurors—was cancelled.

Phillips was recalled and once more and finally addressed himself to the task. According to Abbé Casgrain, "He succeeded in administering the oath to the Acadians"—this was in 1730—"by giving them one of the concessions to which they had always adhered, namely: that they should not be called upon to take arms against their compatriots, the French, nor against the Indians, their allies." But it has to be added that this concession does not appear as either attached to or embodied in the jural symbol. Casgrain admits that "this was a mistake on their part for which they paid full dear." The simple formula—ultimate resultant of a seventeen years' struggle, was: "I promise and swear sincerely on the faith of a Christian that I will be entirely faithful, and will truly obey His Majesty, King George the Second, whom I recognise as sovereign lord of Acadia or Nova Scotia. So help me God." If granted at all, the concession that the parties taking the oath would not be required to take up arms against either French compatriots or Indian allies must have been granted in the form of a collateral verbal assurance to that effect. There is some fairly good evidence to sustain that view, which also seems to have been that of Mascarene. Even if it had been otherwise—had no such assurance been given—the acceptance of the bold, unconditional formula must not be taken to indicate a changed attitude on the part of the Acadians towards their old friends. They were as little inclined to fight against them as ever. It rather shows

that their natural leaders had reached the conclusion that it was folly to chase the shadow when they had the substance. The building up of Louisburg at the expense of Acadia was now an abandoned policy. Acadia was worth preserving for what she was in herself. The absence of a qualifying clause is immaterial. Acadia's heart is in the right place.

From its founding in 1714 until its second siege and capture in 1758, the history of Louisburg is the history of the whole island of Cape Breton. The fortifications begun in 1720 were carried on with such vigor that it soon became, so far as artificial means of defence were concerned, incomparably the strongest fortress in America. So vast was the extent, so mammoth the proportions, of the immense works under construction, that within the compass of two or three days fourteen New England vessels appeared in the harbor with cargoes of bricks, boards and timber. To feed the enormous army of builders was no small task. Acadian coasters from Bay Verte and Tatamagouche brought supplies of beef and mutton. Acadian farmers from Minas and Pisiquid were colonised on the Island of St. John to make the fertile soil around Port le Joye available for a nearer supply of the necessary grains. New England traders brought fruits and vegetables, bricks and shingles. Soon an extensive general commerce developed, to say nothing of a cod-fishery unsurpassed in North America. The Canadian schooners brought fur; French brigs came in from Guadaloupe and Martinique loaded with sugar, molasses, tobacco and rum.

Louisburg had a system of colonial government of the approved Gallic type,—a governor, an intendant and a supreme council, an inferior court and a court of admiralty. Six missionaries saw that spiritual interests did not suffer from neglect.

In 1731 Governor Philips was suddenly relieved from his duties at Annapolis and recalled to England. The official explanation of this action on the part of the colonial office was financial dereliction charged against the Governor's agent, one Colonel Howard, recently deceased. It had been found, such was the allegation, that there were large unpaid balances due the officers of Philips' own regiment. It was necessary that "he should proceed to Britain to settle the accounts

of the officers of his own regiment of foot." Colonel Lawrence Armstrong, who had retired from the lieutenant-governorship when Philipps came out three years before, was sent back to his former post at Annapolis, bearing in the same pocket the order for Philipps' recall and his own commission. As far as Philipps was concerned this supersession did not mark a forfeiture of his original commission as "Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia." That title and the principal part of the emoluments going with it, he retained until his death in 1749 at the advanced age of ninety years. As to the ultimate sequel of the matter of the officers' balances, history discloses nothing. Quite likely it was the pretext rather than the real reason of his recall, though it must be admitted that this was not the only occasion on which charges of financial short comings were brought against him. Before bidding adieu to Nova Scotia he had entered on the records of the Council a vehement repudiation of one to the effect that he had appropriated to his own use money provided for the fort.

During the first official reign of Philipps at the Fort (1719-1722) there had been much bad blood between himself and Armstrong, then acting as major of the regiment. For this state of things, Armstrong, who quarreled with everybody who came near him, may well take his full share of blame. Things grew so warm that the major unceremoniously took sail for London "without as much as saying 'by your leave' to his superior officer. Illness was alleged as a justification of this failure to respect authority, but the Governor informed the Ministry that he had not known the run-away to have "suffered from any sickness more serious than toothache." During the last term of Philipps at Annapolis (1729-31) Armstrong was in London and was evidently in close touch with the Imperial Authorities. Philipps lets us know that in his opinion his recall was not due to the paltry reason alleged, but to the misrepresentations and machinations of Armstrong: "It imports me much to be very careful of delivering up the government to Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong with the greatest exactness, who is turning up every stone, and raking into every kennel, to find some dirt to bespatter me with, in hopes that some may stick."

As he was actual administrator of affairs in Nova Scotia for two

brief periods only, 1719-1722 and 1729-1731, Philipps is shown to have possessed superior power of initiative and of constructive statesmanship by the fact that for its first half century the civil history of Nova Scotia ran along the lines which he had marked out. The Governor's Council and the system of local representation for the Acadian districts could doubtless in some respects have been improved upon. They both, however, reflect credit on their originator's sagacity, the one as putting at least an advisory check on the autocratic powers of the Governor, the other, as supplying the body of the people with a voice by which to give expression to their views and wishes. In respect to his solution of the vexatious oath problem, their gratitude for which the British Ministers took a queer way of showing, one party should not praise him too highly, nor the other blame him too severely. On arriving in Nova Scotia in 1720 he found the question of jurat allegiance ripe for settlement. Time, rather than Governor Philipps, solved the problem. Undoubtedly in many an Acadian heart there lingered a hope that somehow French authority over what was once Acadia would be resumed, but the deeper the racial roots went down into the soil of Nova Scotia, the more visionary and even uninviting did the idea of a general evacuation become, and the more certain that some such settlement as that effected by Philipps could not be long delayed. As to the results of the pacification, brought about by whatever means, we may quote Richard, that stout vindicator of Acadian rights: "At last"—this was in 1731 just as Philipps, having fulfilled his mission and having received notice of recall, was taking ship for England, "at last this question of the oath, so long an occasion of strife, vexation and uncertainty, was, apparently at least, settled for good. There was no more question of it for twenty years till the foundation of Halifax in 1749. Until then the Acadians had been held in the country by the orders and hindrances of the Governor who had refused to accept in good faith the treaty and conventions of Queen Anne.

Wearied of a bootless struggle, the Acadians had accepted the oath of fealty which granted them the exemption which they clung to so earnestly. They were becoming English subjects, and were finally giving up the ever-entertained idea of a departure. Their agricultural holdings, which had suffered from this uncertainty, were about to

make rapid progress. Peace and contentment were about to take the place of distrust, and prosperity was going to spring up anew. This period of twenty years was the most tranquil, the happiest and most prosperous in the history of Acadia. The Acadians had still to suffer from Armstrong who, nine years after the first departure of Philipps, once more filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor; but as much might be said of the garrison, the officers and the council, all of whom suffered perhaps even more than the Acadians."

Of Armstrong's second term (1731-1739) happily it can be said that it was in almost every respect an improvement on the first (1725-29). The violent temper, unreasonable prejudices and quarrelsome disposition remained, but they had not the same opportunity to work confusion and mischief. Life with Armstrong was still a chronic row. He quarreled with his colleagues, with the priests, with the Acadians; but these contentions however unpleasant to the parties immediately concerned, were far less noticeable from the fact that the air had been largely cleared of combustible and explosive elements by the settlement of the jural difficulty, by the dropping of all talk of evacuation, and generally by the lapse of time. For Armstrong himself there is this to be said, that his contemporaries who came in contact with him did not know, as we know now almost for a certainty, that he was not always, nor altogether, responsible for his actions,—that his singular prejudices, unaccountable aberrations of judgment, and general infirmity of temper sprang from cerebral causes. The unfortunate hypochondriac committed suicide in 1739.

On the death of Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong in 1739, the administration of civil affairs devolved by established precedent on the senior Councillor, who at that time was Major Paul Mascarene. For five years Mascarene continued to discharge the duties of the governorship without receiving the specific designation of Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. There were two Lieutenant-Governors at Annapolis during the later periods of its history, a civil officer filling the position recently vacated by the death of Armstrong, and a superintendent of military affairs, known as "Lieutenant-Governor of the Fort." The latter post was filled in 1739 by Lieutenant-Colonel Cosby, on whose death in 1742 Mascarene, while acting Governor of the Prov-

inee, became also, under the title of "Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis Royal," superintendent of military, as he was already of civil affairs.

In 1744 he received a commission specifically appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

When the career of Paul Mascarene shall be fully spread before us, we shall pronounce him the noblest, and withal the most attractive, figure presented in the earlier annals of Nova Scotia. That career up to the point now reached—his accession to the governorship of Nova Scotia is by no means lacking in unique and interesting features, a brief reference to which may throw some light forward on the more critical years to come.

Mascarene's father was a French Protestant who was driven into exile by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Paul himself, a mere child, was taken by his grandmother to Geneva, where he received a fair education. He soon migrated to England, chose arms as his profession, and in early manhood found himself second lieutenant in an English regiment then doing duty at Portsmouth. In 1700 he obtained a captain's commission signed by Queen Anne, and was sent to America to join an independent regiment then being raised in Boston for the taking of Port Royal. He was in command of the grenadiers at the memorable siege, was the officer who took formal possession of the surrendered fort, and played a prominent part in paying respect to the brave and chivalrous Subercase. The whole period between the capture of Port Royal in 1710 and his assumption of the governorship of Nova Scotia, if some two years at Placentia and Canso on military duty be expected, was spent in the fort or its immediate vicinity. These were thirty years of peace, affording no opportunity for gaining military distinction, but they were years in which a man of Mascarene's upright character and solid abilities was enabled to render services of the most substantial kind to the nascent province for the possession of which two races had already fought and were destined to fight again.

Two facts or conditions combined to warrant most favorable anticipations of Mascarene's administration of public affairs—his experience and his character. In the Province he had long been the last

survivor of the officers who took the fort with Nicholson in 1710. A member of the Council from its original institution by Phillips in 1720, he had for years been the senior councillor, the fact which secured for him the administratorship on Armstrong's death. Every phase of the governmental problem presented in a country where representatives of one race ruled over a population exclusively belonging to another, he had studied profoundly and with an open mind. Frequent visits to Boston, his wife's home, enabled him to understand the emphasis laid by New England on the British retention of Nova Scotia, though intercourse with men of extreme views like Shirley never soured his feelings against a people, whose ancestors were compatriots of his own forefathers. For thirty years he had been in closest touch with the population which he was called on to govern. Their language was his mother tongue, a tongue which he wrote and spoke with as much accuracy and ease as the rougher speech of his adopted country, the vocables of which he did not master till he was pretty well through his teens. Other pens might take pleasure in portraying the weaknesses and failings of the Acadians, Mascarene's dwelt rather on the domesticity, thrift and chastity which characterised them even under conditions the most adverse. During the thirty years of his domicile at Annapolis, he had gained the esteem and confidence of everybody within all the circles of his influence. A truly just and honorable man he was universally acknowledged to be. On a review of his whole life-history, Richard in *Acadia* goes so far as to bear this emphatic testimony to his character: "It would be difficult to find in his conduct a single point that could be seriously blamed; it would be hard to note in his character one striking defect; we behold in him nothing but good qualities of a very high order. . . . He was loyal, just and compassionate . . . His position afforded him a fine opportunity to take revenge on the Acadians and the priests for the intolerance of which his family had been the object. He, however, did nothing of the kind." It is indeed a striking example of Christian forgiveness and magnanimity to find that the Governor of Nova Scotia who, when Nova Scotia was peopled by Frenchmen, was most disposed to do justice to the Catholic priesthood and laity, had himself been obliged to flee from France

because he was a Protestant. It is entirely creditable to the author of *Acadia* that he notes and emphasises the fact. Many a just and honorable man has made a sad bungle of affairs when set to govern his fellowmen, especially when the winds are high, the seas rough and the skies dark. Mascarene was soon to be called on to steer the little Nova Scotian vessel over very dangerous waters with all these adverse conditions confronting him. Happily, he had in rich abundance the gifts of caution and self-reliance, unusual tact, and that grace of "sweet reasonableness" of tongue and temper which averts or breaks up so many storms.

Early in Mascarene's administration signs began to show themselves which gave warning that the general peace established by the Treaty of Utrecht was not to last much longer and he was far-seeing enough to conclude that when once it was broken, England and France would become enemies once more. So without being an alarmist he governed himself according to his interpretation of the signs of the times. As "Lieutenant-Governor of the Fort" his look-out was about as discouraging as it well could be. While France had been spending livres by the million on the bastions and escarpments of Louisbourg, England could not spare a penny to keep the dilapidated walls of Annapolis from tumbling down. But mere repair and restoration would accomplish little. A thoroughly new fort, up to date in its construction and equipment, was an imperative necessity. Inasmuch as his adopted country turned a deaf ear to his importunate appeals for funds for the erection of such a stronghold, Mascarene was obliged to content himself with trying to patch up the old and shaky structure. In this effort he got help from a quarter never available to any of his predecessors. The Acadians of the Banlieu and of the surrounding country to the number of an hundred or more willingly took part in the work of repair. A better prophylactic against invasion than even a strong fort Mascarene conceived would be the retention of the good will, or at least the neutrality of the Acadians. He had long given up, even if he had ever entertained it, the chimerical notion that the Acadians would actually take up arms against France. So he laid stress on the importance of obtaining the maximum advantage available, and renewed vigorously the efforts

which he had for years been making to secure for the Acadians, the privilege of new grants of land. Thus he writes to the Lords of Trade and Plantations: "The increase of the Acadians calls for some fresh instructions how to dispose of them. They have divided and subdivided among their children the lands they were in possession of. They applied for new grants which the Governors Phillips and Armstrong did not think themselves authorised to favor them with, as His Majesty's instructions on that hand prescribed the grant of unappropriated lands to Protestant subjects only. This long delay has occasioned several of them to settle themselves on some of the skirts of this Province, pretty far distant from this place, notwithstanding proclamations and orders to the contrary have been often repeated. If they are debarred from new possessions, they must live here miserably, and consequently be troublesome, or else they will possess themselves of new tracts, contrary to order, or they must be made to withdraw to the neighboring French colony." This appeal did not evoke any favorable response. The fact that the grants of new lands were withheld from the great body of the people lies at the bottom of the common charge preferred against the Acadians of having been excessively prone to litigation over the metes and bounds of their paternal acres.

Appreciating the delicate position in which the clergymen of the parishes would find themselves in case France and England should become involved in war, he dealt frankly and fearlessly with them, asking for nothing but complete abstention from international politics: "The affairs in Europe are much embroiled, and in case they should occasion a rupture between Great Britain and France, the missionaries much expect to fall very naturally under suspicion, and therefore ought to be the more circumspect in their conduct in regard to themselves and towards the inhabitants."

In regard to the general attitude of the Acadian people, Mascarene—whose maximum demand was for strict neutrality—thus reported to the Duke of Newcastle (June 28, 1742): "The frequent rumors we have had of war being on the point of being declared against France, have not as yet made any alteration in the temper

of the Acadians, who appear in a good disposition of keeping to their oath of fidelity, and of submitting to the orders and regulations of this government for maintaining peace." This was before the war. Writing in 1748, after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had restored peace, Mascarene thus explains the attitude of the French Acadians during the so-called War of the Austrian Succession, which was closed by the treaty just named. "Their (the Acadians') plea with the French who pressed them to take up arms was their oath: their living easy under the government, and their having no complaint to make against it." Mascarene's policy seems to have borne good fruit. In the brief narration of events which follows, it will be found that during the four years of the War of the Austrian Succession, Acadia was invaded four times and Annapolis besieged three times, the hope of success in each case being based on the active co-operation of the Acadians. It will be found, too, that not in a single instance was this co-operation secured in any appreciable degree.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

The War of the Austrian Succession, though dating back to the invasion of Silesia in 1740 by Frederic of Prussia, did not involve a breach of the peace between England and France until 1744. In the spring of that year the two nations after a thirty-one years' interval were at war again. England, as one of the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction, standing by Maria Theresa; France aiding Frederic by reason of her mortal hatred of the Hapsburgs.

Louisburg got tidings of the war six weeks earlier than either Boston or Annapolis. Duquesnel, the Governor, was inclined to move slowly and cautiously, but Duvivier, his aide-major, was more hot-headed. His representation that two deadly blows, one at Canso, the other at Annapolis, meant the restoration of Acadia, swept public opinion. Duvivier, who claimed to be the great grandson of Charles La Tour, was universally acclaimed as the fitting instrument of Nova Scotia's doom.

Canso was the great summer rendezvous of the summer fishery.

fleets. The fishermen had erected a huge barnlike block house, where Annapolis kept three or four companies of the Phillips regiment, the Fortieth Foot. The attacking force was three or four times as large as necessary. Captain Heron surrendered and obtained favorable terms. The flames of the burning blockhouse tinged the sea with red clear over to the Isle Madame.

Duvivier next turned attention to Annapolis. But by returning to Louisburg he lost time, which Mascarene busily employed in shoring up his tumble-down fortifications. The general plan of attack on the capital was badly laid out. It was a tripartite affair. Duvivier with the main body of assailants, was to proceed by water to Bay Verte and then march overland via Chignecto and Minas. Somewhere near the isthmus he was to pick up three or four hundred Indians, whom a rather bellicose ecclesiastic named Le Loutre had been commissioned to collect as an auxiliary force in the attack on Annapolis. Finally two ships, with the munitions of war, were to sail from Louisburg, so timed that their arrival at Annapolis with that of Duvivier and the Indians might synchronise. The detailed working out of the scheme was unsatisfactory and disappointing. The savages collected by Le Loutre became impatient and did not wait for Duvivier at Chignecto according to arrangement, but pushed on to Annapolis and, on their own account, began operations against the fort. Having accomplished nothing beyond shooting two men of the garrison, who contrary to orders, had gone into a somewhat remotely situated garden for vegetables or fruit, they decamped without waiting for the arrival of Duvivier and the main body of assailants. On his slow and tedious journey from Chignecto, Duvivier experienced a series of surprises, culminating in a crowning disappointment on reaching Annapolis. Instead of rushing forward to enroll themselves under his standard and thus participate in the glory of restoring Acadia to France, the farmers of the villages through which the expedition wound its way, manifested a singular aloofness, and showed much more interest in harvesting their wheat, now ripening under the August sun, than in aiding and abetting the object Duvivier had in view. At Minas particularly the surprise was great and the disappointment keen. Instead of being received with open arms, and

with loud acclaims as the savior of Acadia, he found throughout the great central Acadian district, astonishing symptoms of apathy, not to say distrust. Voluntary offers of material aid being wanting, he was obliged to resort to enforced requisitions for supplies. His mortification must have been great on receiving in response to an order for grain and meat the following reply: "The inhabitants of Minas, Grand Pré River Canard, Pisiquit and the surrounding rivers, beg that you will be pleased to consider that while there would be no difficulty, by virtue of the strong force you command, in supplying yourself with the quantity of grain and meat you have ordered, it would be quite impossible for us to furnish you the quantity you demand, or even a smaller, without placing ourselves in great peril.

"We hope gentlemen that you will not plunge both ourselves and our families into a state of total loss: and that this consideration will cause you to withdraw your savages and troops from our district.

"We live under a mild and tranquil government, and have good reason to be faithful to it. We hope, therefore, that you will have the goodness not to separate us from it, and that you will grant us the favor not to plunge us into utter misery."

The statement that "they did what they could without committing themselves, and made a hundred and fifty scaling-ladders for the besiegers," scarcely does justice to the facts of the case if Mascarene's report can be depended on. Before the advent of the Indians, and during the period intervening between their withdrawal and the coming of Duvivier, Mascarene had found an abundance of Acadian labor available for the work of repair on the fort. The case was the same after the departure of Duvivier. The furnishing of the scaling-ladders may have come from a natural desire to earn an honest penny. Resistance to an order to provide them would have been difficult, when that order came from the commander of an army encamped on the very edge of the settlement. Mascarene's testimony is that the Acadians successfully thwarted all attempts to cajole or force them into co-operation with the invaders. As when the Indians were there, so now the Curé of the parish, Mascarene specifically informs us, "proved himself an honest man." Failing to browbeat or seduce the French on the river, to identify themselves with his cause, Duvivier

vier remained several weeks at Annapolis, resorting to device after device for the accomplishment of his object. Weak as the fort was, Mascarene, whose engineering abilities were much above the average, had sufficiently strengthened it, to make it proof against immediate assault. By means of a flag of truce Duvivier got into communication with Mascarene and sought to terrorise him by reports of the two warships hourly expected from Louisburg. Mascarene was not the man to be caught with chaff like that, and, on the scriptural principle that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," intimated to Duvivier that he would wait until he saw the ships themselves, before deciding what action might be best in consequence of their arrival. If the ships ever came—it is a doubtful question—it was not till after Duvivier had abandoned the siege. But meanwhile, two vessels from another quarter than Louisburg, put into port. They came from Boston, bringing much needed supplies for Mascarene, and also—these came too late to be of use against the *Le Loutre* band—fifty Indian rangers, called Mohawks, whether because they really were so, or in order that the dreaded name might strike terror into Micmac and Malicete hearts is not exactly clear. Duvivier's expedition had failed. At Bay Verte, the leader sent his troops thoroughly exhausted by their bootless tramps to Louisburg, while he himself took sail for Quebec.

During the part of the War of the Austrian Succession (1744-1748) in which France and England were arrayed against each other, the outstanding event in America was the capture of the renowned fortress of Louisburg in the summer of 1745 by a New England force acting in conjunction with a blockading English fleet. This expedition against Louisburg was the response of the people of New England to the challenge of Canso and Annapolis. The origin and organisation of the enterprise, as well as the siege operations themselves, have been set forth with exceptional fulness and elaboration by the historians of that period. Bancroft shows his appreciation of the importance of the event by giving to his account of it somewhat more of color and glow than usually characterises his sober pages. Like a loyal New Englander Parkham devotes no less than eighty pages of Vol. II of "*A Half Century of Conflict*,"—pages written in his liveliest and

most realistic style—to the inception, progress and issue of an adventure, originally viewed by most people in their senses as worthy of a madcap just escaped from bedlam. Brown in his excellent "History of Cape Breton" treats the siege and capture of Louisburg even more exhaustedly than Parkman, filling sixty or seventy closely printed pages with pure descriptive matter, degressions and literary embellishments being alike avoided. While not a mountain of rocks, like Quebec, Louisburg was incomparably the strongest fortress in America, so far as capacity to resist assault depended on contributions from the science and art of fortification, with reasonable aid from nature herself. Everything was according to Vauban. Powerful batteries guarded the approach from the sea. The central fortress had for its protection a ditch eighty feet wide and over twenty deep, stretching from the harbor to the sea, while the rampart of earth faced with masonry was sixty feet thick. The glacis also furnished exceptional facilities for defence. Everything that a first class fortress should have, Louisburg undoubtedly had. There were bastions and ravelins and casements and quoins. Louisburg seemed impregnable, and given a capable defender like Dusquesne, who died on the eve of the seige, probably was so.

It has been a matter of much controversy in New England who first suggested the taking of Louisburg as a proper retaliatory and protective measure in view of French attacks and threats against Nova Scotia. The honor has been quite generally ascribed to Robert Auchmuty, a Massachusetts judge, who in 1744 published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" an article entitled "The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation." Some writers, however, including Parkman, give the credit of proposing the actual venture and demonstrating its feasibility, to William Vaughan, who, though a graduate of Harvard, conducted business as a fish-merchant at Matineus as well as a timber-merchant. The General Court after a good deal of pressure and some adroit manipulation voted concurrence in the project by a majority of one. Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, the latter half-heartedly, agreed to take part in the venture. The English ministers, learning by special messenger from Shirley what a situation had developed in New England, ordered

Commodore Warren, who was cruising in the West Indies with his squadron, to lose no time in repairing to Boston to take part in the projected attack on the "Dunkirk of America."

An initial difficulty of great moment had to be faced by Shirley. Who was to take command of a force proceeding against what the Governor of Rhode Island reminded him was "a prodigiously strong fortress?" There was not in the whole province of Massachusetts a single professionally qualified man. Such military titles as were in vogue were appertanances of the ordinary military service of the province. Shirley could not base his selection on anything like an established record, and was up to make a choice on considerations quite apart from the matter in hand. His choice ultimately fell on William Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, a justice of the peace, a member of the Governor's Council, a pillar of the local church, but, though nominally "Commanding Colonel of the District of Maine," absolutely without knowledge of military operations except such as might be picked up on "Muster Day." Shirley, however, from his association with Pepperrell at the Colonial Council Board, had taken note of his intelligence and general grasp of business. He had learned from other sources that not only in Massachusetts and its Maine District, but also in the southern part of New Hampshire, Colonel Pepperrell was universally popular, and thus likely to attract recruits for the pending dash. This was Shirley's view of the situation in advance. The following extract from Parkman vindicates in part at least the soundness of his judgment. "It was not his (Pepperrell's) nature to rule with a stiff hand, and this perhaps was fortunate. Order and discipline, the sinews of an army, were out of the question; and it remained to do as well as might be without them, keep men and officers in good-humor, and avoid all that could dash their ardor. For this, at least, the merchant general was well fitted. His popularity had helped to raise the army, and perhaps it helped now to make it efficient. His position was no bed of roses. Worries, small and great, pursued him without end. He made friends of his officers, kept a bountiful table in his tent and labored to their disputes and jealousies, and to satisfy their complaints. So generous

were his contributions to the common cause that they are even said to have amounted to £10,000.

The conception of the attack on Louisburg, which thus terminated in its capture was a bold one, a challenge to the lion in his own den. All will admit that it was carried out energetically and skilfully. The pious merchant and magistrate of Kittery not only proved himself—as he had already done under other conditions—a sagacious man of affairs, a master of the art of handling men, but also a military strategist of no mean ability. Much of the success of the seige—in fact the whole of it—was due to the co-operation of the army and navy. But the heartiness and continuity of that co-operation were largely due to the evenness of temper that characterized General Pepperrell, to his cool-headedness, and to his resolute purpose to play the game in the interest of the general good. So far as bravery and devotion to duty were concerned, the conduct of the New England soldiery merited nothing but praise, though the rather skulking tactics of Duchambon gave them little chance to show their personal pluck, muzzle to muzzle, bayonet to bayonet, they laughed at such dangers as did threaten and even tried to increase them, scorning regular approaches under cover, and asking at most for no better protection than a dark night. But brave as they were, it would be rash to assume that in their undisciplined state they could have withstood in their siege work before the walls a succession of regular sorties from the trained soldiers whom Duchambon had in his power to launch against them. With a commander of ability at all commensurate with the importance of his post, it is probably not too much to say that Louisburg would have proved impregnable. The charges in proof of Duchambon's incapacity are thus summarized by Brown: (1) He took no steps to inform himself as to the character and object of the suspicious-looking vessels that passed and re-passed his harbour in the month of April: (2) When the New England forces did arrive, he did not vigorously contest their landing: (3) He gave up the Grand Battery without a struggle, practically intact, and with contents available for the use of the enemy captor: (4) He did not inch by inch dispute the ground with the enemy as they advanced towards the gates, by means of vigorous sallies. It is

generally admitted that his gravest fault was his almost impolite rejection of an offer from the Viceroy at Quebec to strengthen him with troops, ammunition and general supplies, based on an offer the probability of just such an attack as the one which had just brought Louisburg into the dust of humiliation.

But it must not be thought that Louisburg at its surrender was physically a mass of ruins. Far from it. There was held in Massachusetts shortly after the great capture a general thanksgiving for the taking of Louisburg. The orator of the occasion in the historic South Church of Boston has this to say of the condition in which Louisburg was found when handed over to the captors: "When our forces entered the city, and came to view the inner state of its fortifications, they were amazed to see their extraordinary strength and device, and how we had to have lost the limbs and lives of a multitude, if not have been all destroyed. And that the city should surrender when there was a great body of French and Indians yet on the island (at St. Peters), and within a day's march to molest us." The historian Bancroft is still more emphatic on the same point: "As the troops entering the fortress beheld the strength of the place, their hearts for the first time sank within them. 'God has gone out of his way,' said they, 'in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to induce the hearts of the French to give up and deliver this stormy city into our hand.'" Pepperrell himself shared in this view. Instead of vainly conceiving the surrender to be an evidence of his own strategic skill, or of the valor of his soldiers, he regarded it as the result of the united prayers of the people of New England.

The proposal to treat concerning surrender came from Duchambon, just as Pepperrell and Warren had matured the plan of a joint naval and land attack. In addition to signs plainly forecasting this movement, the French commander's spirits were much depressed by various adverse strokes of fortune. A splendid ship, the *l'igilant*, just across from France, well laden with ammunition and general supplies, had been captured by Warren's fleet, which thus more than duplicated its own stores. Nothing had been heard of Marin and his promised Canadians and Indians from Chignecto; above all his last great reliance, the Island Battery had been put out of commission

by Gridley's guns from Light House Point. The psychological moment for a surrender had arrived.

The terms for surrender need not be discussed. The keys of the fortress were delivered to Pepperrell; the English flag was unfurled on the ramparts; the New England batteries and Warren's fleet thundered out a general salute. Boston nearly went crazy while bells rang in New York and even at such a distant point as Philadelphia. In England besides bonfires and gun-firing, there were practical evidences of appreciation. General Pepperrell became Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet of Great Britain, while Commander Warren became a Rear Admiral of the Blue.

Appointed joint Governors of the surrendered city and fortress, Pepperrell and Warren applied themselves at once to restore the impaired fortification to their normal conditions. As a ruse whereby to entrap French vessels approaching the coast, the French flag was kept flying conspicuously on the ramparts. Two fine ships, the *Charmante* and the *Heron*, fell victims to the trick almost immediately. Together, ships and cargoes, they yielded to the captors some one hundred seventy-five thousand pounds sterling. But these were scarcely worth mentioning in comparison with the "*Notre Dame de la Deliverance*," which falling into the trap a few days later proved to be a prize worth eight hundred thousand pounds.

The net cost of the Louisburg expedition to the New England Colonies was as follows:

Massachusetts, one hundred eighty-three thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds; Connecticut, twenty-eight thousand eight hundred sixty-three; New Hampshire, sixteen thousand three hundred fifty-five; Rhode Island, six thousand three hundred thirty-two. The colonies were reimbursed for the expenditures by the British Government in full. If Brown's figures are correct, or approximately so, the celebrated siege was not a particularly bloody affair. The loss of the English, including those who died in the camp from dysentery, is not supposed to have exceeded one hundred and thirty men, while the largest estimate of French fatalities does not go beyond three hundred.

The story of the siege of Louisburg is too long even to epitom-

ise. Colonel Pepperrell's name—he was appointed Lieutenant-General thrice over, by Massachusetts, by New Hampshire, and by Rhode Island—attracted volunteers from far and near. In eight weeks the entire land force needed was raised and equipped. Bancroft tells us that this "was composed of fishermen, who in time of war could no longer use the hook and line on the Grand Banks, but with prudent forethought took with them their cod lines: of mechanics, skilled from childhood with use of the gun; of lumberers, enured to fatigue and encampments in the woods; of husbandmen from the interior, who had grown up with arms in their hands, accustomed to danger, keenest marksmen, disciplined in the pursuits of larger and smaller game, all commanded by officers from among themselves, many of them church members, almost all having wives and children."

Canso was the place of rendezvous. The Massachusetts troops were there on April 1st, the Connecticut on the 10th, the New Hampshire on March 26th. The small Rhode Island contingent did not put in an appearance till the siege was over. Commodore Warren with his West India squadron was steering for Boston, but hearing off the coast that the New England transports had sailed for Canso, he altered his course and joined Pepperrell on the 23rd of April. Within a week the transports were anchored in Gabarus Bay, while Warren's fleet was in the offing, maintaining a rigorous blockade of the royal city, and prepared to co-operate with the land force when occasion should offer.

Pepperrell proceeded to initiate siege operations in regular form. The troops were landed with only a faint show of obstruction by a petty force of one hundred men, who did little more than gaze at them from a respectful distance, the New England fishermen setting a pace for their comrades in dashing through the ice-chilled surf. The back-woods men showed themselves equally well adapted for the tedious and toilsome, but altogether unobstructed, march over rocks and through quagmires towards the doomed fortress. Early the previous winter, the garrison had been in a state of incipient mutiny, and though the soldiers now pledged their loyalty and fidelity, Duchambon was afraid,—or so pretended to be—to trust them out-

side of the walls, and kept them back from the sorties which they were eager to make on Pepperell's men engaged in digging trenches and other siege work in front of the walls.

Thé Grand Battery from its situation and solidity was one of the main reliances of Louisburg. To its commanding officer, strange to say, Duchambon had given orders, not to hold it to the last at all odds and cost, but to spike the guns and withdraw, when pressure became too extreme. The guns were spiked and the garrison withdrawn before a single shot or shell had been hurled against the Battery. Flames on the adjacent shore, caused by the burning by Pepperell's men of some captured warehouses, were interpreted to mean a general attack from the quarter where they were shooting up to the sky. The pusillanimous colonel in charge, with incontinent haste proceeded to act on the ill-timed advice of his leader. The Grand Battery had been deserted for two whole days before the invaders ascertained, almost by accident, that it was empty. It did not take New England contrivance long to drill the spikes out of the guns, which of course were then promptly turned against their former owners. On the following Sunday "divine service was held in the Grand Battery," the Puritan preacher taking as his text: "Enter into His gates with thanksgiving and into His courts with praise." Opinion seems to be divided as to whether the loss of the Grand Battery, occurring in this ridiculous way, was, or was not, absolutely fatal to Louisburg. The possession of a fort, equipped with "Twenty-eight 42-pounders, and two 8-pounders, three hundred eighty shells, a quantity of shot, and other munitions of war," and sweeping with its fire, the approach to the chief gate of the city, would seem to have been no unimportant factor in determining the ultimate fate of the whole series of fortifications. In justice to Duchambon it should be added that in his official report, he claims that the order which led to the evacuation was based on representations from Captain Chéré, Commandant at the battery, as well as from the chief engineer, to the effect that two hundred men could not hope to hold the position against four hundred or five hundred British soldiers attacking it from the rear. Duchambon expresses regret that Chéré did not completely demolish the battery before he left. "Next morn-

ing," he adds, "I sent officers and men in boats to finish the work, who were repulsed."

The post thus gained without a blow was held by the captors, if so they can be called—throughout the siege. Then battery after battery began to fall, the New England farmers and mechanics surprising even themselves by the skill with which they directed the artillery fire. One particular battery,—the island battery so-called—continued for a month or more to prevent the entrance into the harbour of Warren's ships. But it was at length silenced, the fleet was ready to sail in. There was nothing left for Duchambon but unconditional surrender.

The fall of Louisburg to his army of farmers, fishermen and mechanics, inspired Shirley to seek for even nobler game than Louisburg. Nothing seemed impossible after so signal a victory. Why not lead the victorious colonists against the main stronghold of French power in America? "Now for Quebec," was the challenge which he addressed to the people, and especially the legislatures of New England. He rightly calculated on the enthusiastic excitement of the moment. Massachusetts led off with an offer of thirty-five hundred men. Altogether a force of eight thousand strong was guaranteed by the colonies, the process of voting levies in the various assemblies being much facilitated by the fact that Newcastle in a fit of unwonted generosity had pledged payment of the colonial troops from the national exchequer.

The scheme seemed ripe for execution. An expected English squadron was to convey the English and New England troops for a frontal attack on Quebec. The Colonials from the south of Long Island Sound with the Mohawk Indians were—as it had been often planned before—to debouch by the Richelieu on Montreal. No wonder that the utmost alarm spread through Canada when the news of this formidable movement reached the banks of the St. Lawrence, that every point of danger was guarded, every point of weakness strengthened, that swift-footed *Coueurs des bois* were despatched to distant Acadia to call home the Canadians and Indians that were making Mascarene's life so uneasy in his old fort on the Annapolis.

For the movement on Quebec, Louisburg was selected as the base of operations, and the meeting place of the British and Colonial

troops which were to carry the heights at Cape Diamond. The General, Sir William Pepperrell, and Rear Admiral Warren were there. Governor Shirley would accompany the New England forces, and join in consultation with the conquerors of Louisburg and with Lieutenant-General Saint Clair, the commander promised by Newcastle, as to the *modus operandi* of taking the great St. Lawrence fortress.

Month after month passed by, yet no word reached Shirley or any one else, regarding Newcastle's promised squadron and the eight battalions of veteran troops. As a matter of fact, though Shirley was not made aware of it until the following summer, the troops had been sent on a fool's errand to some point on the French coast. As the prime minister himself explained: "The demands of the European war made the Canadian expedition impracticable." If England had been, as proudly represented, "the great colonising nation," this certainly has not been due to her having always had as colonial administrators, men of colonising genius. Newcastle brought the whole affair to a ridiculous end by advising Shirley to get rid of the colonial levies—which he had agreed to pay—as quickly and cheaply as possible.

So much for Shirley's plan. Now for that of Beauharnois, the Governor-General at Quebec.

The outbursts of exultation in New England over the capture of Louisburg were counterbalanced in Canada by outcries of indignation and resentment provoked by the same event. Beauharnois took occasion to give expression to the determination to which these latter feelings naturally led, by memorialising the Minister of Marine to take summary steps for the recovery of Louisburg, snatched from France by force, and of Nova Scotia out of which she had been cheated by diplomacy. And further, not content with these, altogether natural restorations, to go further and administer proper chastisement to those stirrers up of strife, those deep-seated enemies of the French race, the people of Boston. His particular recommendation was to fit out at once an armament of such character and proportions as would absolutely guarantee the recovery of France's lost provinces and the due humiliation of her bitterest enemy. The response of the French ministry to this suggestion, or rather appeal,

was prompt and practical. It took the form known in history as the "D'Anville Expedition." This was much the most powerful combination of ships and men that had ever been organized for service in America. All accounts agree that three thousand one hundred and fifty soldiers—the number is so exact that it must be correct—boarded the vessels either at Brest or Rochelle, the main squadron calling at the latter post to pick up some of the transports. The fleet, a truly invincible Armada, was put in charge of an Admiral of high reputation and distinguished lineage, M. de Rochefortcauld le Duc D'Anville. The troops were under the command of Adjutant-General M. De Pommerill. Beauharnois on his side of the water was not slow in organizing a force to co-operate with D'Anville and De Pommerill on their arrival in America. By mid summer 1746, there were collected at Bay Verte and vicinity no less than sixteen hundred men—a group of Canadians, *courcurs des Bois*, and Indians of various tribes. Beauharnois' scheme has now reached a stage of development never attained to by the abortive undertaking mapped out by Shirley.

Preparations on so large a scale could not be long concealed. News of some grave impending danger soon reached most, if not all, of the exposed and threatened places. It soon leaked out, too, what were to be the chief points of attack. Indeed before the summer was over, the instructions imposed on D'Anville become known—to recover Nova Scotia by the capture of Annapolis, to retake and dismantle Louisburg; to burn Boston—two fire-ships were included in the expedition—and then to do all the harm he could to Jamaica and Barbados. Highly abnormal conditions developed which prevented the accomplishment of a single one of these objects. It is a profitless business to speculate on what might have happened under conditions other than those which actually determined the course of events. The general view is that things proceeding in a normal line, D'Anville would certainly have taken Annapolis, and could scarcely have been hindered from doing some harm to Boston. The general impression is that he would have found Louisburg too hard a nut to crack.

The story of the D'Anville Expedition is an unusually sad one. Few records of marine misfortune and disaster surpass it in horror.

Chebucto Bay, now Halifax Harbour, was the appointed rendezvous. A considerable number of the vessels either foundered on the way or were driven far off from the Nova Scotian coast. In consequence of a succession of gales near Sable Island, two large ships were driven south to the West Indies, while another got so far out of her course that she sailed back to France. Several transports were buried in the treacherous sands of Sable Island. Three ships and a frigate, under the command of Vice-Admiral Conflans, sent to convoy some merchant vessels to Hispaniola and then to rejoin D'Anville at Chebucto, accomplished their mission successfully, but having found no signs of D'Anville at Chebucto or along the Nova Scotian coast, had according to orders, sailed back to France before the flagship put in her belated appearance at Sambro. Worse than the storms was a terribly malignant type of ship-fever, which broke out in a number of the vessels when in mid ocean, and followed them to shore. Shortly after his arrival, and when but a few of the vessels which actually made Chebucto had arrived, D'Anville himself died, but not of the prevailing disorder, terribly fatal though it was. His death is generally ascribed to apoplexy, generated by mental distress. "Whether of apoplexy, sickness, or poison, different statements existed," is Murdock's version of the matter. The unfortunate commander was buried on George's Island. On the day of his death, Vice-Admiral D'Estournelle, second to D'Anville in rank, reached Chebucto on the day of the latter's death and at once assumed command. The second position fell to a M. de la Jonquiere, who suffered a severe defeat off Cape Finisterre the following year, and subsequently became Governor-General of Canada. He had come out in the flagship with D'Anville. A council of war was immediately convoked. The new commander argued that owing to the malevolent work of the plague and the storms the fleet should embrace the earliest opportunity of returning to France, postponing to another year the contemplated captures of Annapolis and Louisburg. This view of the situation was vehemently opposed by de la Jonquiere and the other members of the council. As a minimum of result, Annapolis must be taken in partial compensation for the loss of Louisburg. The fight between D'Estournelle and his councillors over this

isue was a bitter one and lasted for seven or eight days. D'Estournelle settled it by committing suicide.

Advanced to supreme command Jonquiere had a difficult situation to face. The policy which he had advocated before the council he found himself unable to put into effect—and then only in outward form—until late in October. The plague continued to claim its victims on as large a scale and with as deadly effect after the reeking cabins had been exchanged for the breezy shores of Chebucto Bay. Without doctors, nurses or medical supplies, the hastily constructed hospitals were little better than charnel-houses. A moderate estimate places the number of corpses that received scant sepulture on the western shore of Bedford Basin at considerably over a thousand.

At length, about the middle of October, Jonquiere felt justified in trying the sea again. Sinking one of his largest ships, which was doubtfully seaworthy, and burning all the prizes, he set sail for Annapolis with five ships of the line and twenty frigates as the remnant of a once splendid fleet. After all, unfortunately, the little flotilla did not leave with a clear bill of health. Five of the transports had to be specially fitted up as "hospital ships." The plague continued to rage, for a time exacting a daily toll of four or five corpses. Off Cape Sable a violent gale dispersed the vessels so widely that it was with difficulty that they were got together again. A council of officers on the flagship decided that the only course open was to sail directly to France, leaving Mascarene undisturbed. It is believed—though there is no positive evidence to uphold that belief—that all the vessels that sailed out past Sambro with Jonquiere eventually reached France in safety. Annapolis having been passed by there was nothing for de Ramisay to do but to take his Canadian and Indian rangers back to Chignecto.

For the sake of convenience it may be proper to anticipate events sufficiently to point out that regardless of the mortifyingly disastrous issue of the D'Anville Expedition, the French Government in its almost frenzied determination to repossess itself of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, fitted out a similar one with precisely similar effects,

at the opening of the following spring. Though not quite as large as D'Anville's, it was an imposing and formidable armament, consisting of fourteen ships of war and twenty-two transports. As a tribute to his skill in getting the remnant of the D'Anville vessels back to France, it was placed under the command of Jonquiere, whose initial orders were to land arms and ammunition for de Ramisay at Bay Verte and then proceed to the capture of Louisburg. Jonquiere left the French coast in company with a naval commander, the Chevalier de St. George, who with a couple of war ships was conveying a group of merchant vessels to the East Indies, for the purpose of mutual protection so long as they sailed on a common course. Off Cape Sinisterre they encountered an English fleet under Anson and Warren—the Rear Admiral Warren who left Louisburg the year before—and were badly worsted. Jonquiere himself received a painful wound, and was included in the four thousand prisoners taken.

This left Louisburg and Annapolis safe for the summer of 1747. Between the D'Anville and Jonquiere Expeditions, that is, during the winter 1746-47, an incident occurred in Acadia to which it is proper to recur.

According to instructions, Ramisay early in the summer of 1746 had led a strong force of Canadians and Indians from Chignecto to the vicinity of Annapolis, to await the arrival of D'Anville's fleet and then associate himself with its forthcoming attack on the threatened capital. In default of D'Anville's appearance, there was nothing for Ramisay to do when winter gave signs of its approach but to lead back his disappointed troops to Chignecto and allow the taking of Annapolis to stand over for another year. A fact worth noticing is that the anticipated glory of the summer's combined naval and military campaign had attracted to Ramisay's standard a number of young officers of high ambition and exceptional promise. This may be taken note of, too, that on the way back to Chignecto, Ramisay and his contingents spent some time at the Minas and Pisiquid settlements. Such pauses of the French commander on the way to and fro between Annapolis and Chignecto caused Shirley and Mascarene not a little uneasiness.

The fact that France had now obtained virtual control of Chignecto and that her emissaries were trying to establish the closest possible connection with the great central districts of Acadian population and influence, disturbed Mascarene not a little. Though the latter still adhered to his strongly pronounced view that kind and considerate treatment would keep the great body of the Acadians faithful to their jural obligations, he began to feel, now that war had supervened between the nations, that it might be well to err on the side of safety, and to exercise some repression on rash adventurous spirits. He convinced himself that nothing would be more opportune than an additional force of one thousand English soldiers in the Province, and that Minas was one of the points at which it was desirable to plant a garrison. Shirley was appealed to for the practical carrying out of the idea, and so vital was the salvation of Nova Scotia deemed to the continued existence of New England that the wide-awake Governor was not appealed to in vain. Accidents prevented the levies raised by New Hampshire and Rhode Island from reaching Nova Scotia, but late in November the Massachusetts contingent, but little short of its full quota of five hundred men, arrived at Annapolis, and under its commander, Colonel Arthur Noble, sailed on without much delay towards Minas. The soldiers, presumably almost all landsmen, found the winds and waves and tides of the Bay of Fundy at that stormy season very trying to their nerves as well as their stomachs. Noble decided to seek some nearer landing place than Gaspereau. He managed to disembark at French Cross (Morden), whence the whole company wended its way on foot to Grand Pré. They were eight days making the toilsome and indeed perilous journey, through a trackless wilderness. Their vessel, skilfully piloted, reached the Gaspereaux without mishap. Arriving a month behind time, Colonel Noble found it impracticable to construct the block house for the troops, the frames and other materials of which he had brought from Boston. Arrangements were therefore made for the accommodation of both officers and men in houses of the villagers, who knew Mascarene well enough to know that he was good pay. The advent of the troops does not appear to have seriously disturbed the quiet of the village.

But when news of the Massachusetts irruption into the very heart of Acadia reached Ramisay at Beaubassin, his spirit was indeed stirred within him. Unfortunately conditions did not favor the infliction on the rascally interlopers of the vengeance which their insolence called for. His ranks had been quite thinned by disease. He himself was crippled by an accident. It was really puzzling to know what to do in such an emergency. A happy thought struck him. A stealthy overland march, a surprise, a night-attack, these movements well planned and promptly executed would clear the land of the scoundrels and teach a lesson to all who should think of following their example. Not being able to take the lead himself, he placed at the head of the party of attack, Coulon de Villiers, destined some years later to cross swords successfully with George Washington himself.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the march over the snow from Beaubassin to Grand Pré. The company started on January 23rd, and proceeding by Bay Verte and the shore of the Straits, was at Tatamagouche on the morning of the 27th, and reached a village near Cobequid on the evening of the 28th. Then their rate of progress was very slow, particularly when working their way along the eastern bank of the Shubenacadie to a suitable crossing place. They found the portage from the Shubenacadie to the Kennetcook almost impracticable, even their Indian guide getting badly tangled up. So slowly did they get along that they did not reach the easternmost of the Pisiquid villages until the 8th of February. The Gas-pereau was reached on the afternoon of the 10th. The expedition halted in a blinding snow storm, to await night fall and to arrange a general plan of attack on Noble's officers and troops. The main feature of the plan decided on was the division of the whole attacking party into ten sections, each section to deal with a house in which soldiers were quartered, care being taken to see that the ten houses attacked included all those in which officers were billeted. It is not necessary to unveil the murderous tragedy which followed. There could be but little resistance seeing that the work of slaughter was not commenced until after one o'clock in the morning, when the helpless victims were wrapt in their soundest sleep. The French statis-

tical account of results puts the English loss at one hundred and thirty killed, fifteen wounded and fifty captured; the French loss at seven killed and fifteen wounded. Coulon, the French commander, received a shot, but the house on which he led the attack showed twenty-one killed and three wounded out of a total of twenty-four. Colonel Noble and his brother Ensign Noble were both among the fallen. Edward Howe, Mascarene's civil commissioner, the agency of whose sad fate at Beau Sejour a few years later is still a matter of dispute, was wounded. Parkman refers to this affair as "one of the most gallant exploits in French-Canadian Annals;" Richard as "a glorious feat of arms."

If "gallant" and "glorious" the affair was perfectly useless so far as its main object was concerned. In less than three months Shirley had a garrison duly stationed at Minas.

TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE—SURRENDER OF LOUISBURG.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which peaceful relations are to be reestablished between England and France, is now almost in sight. As there are no intervening events particularly calling for record and comment, a brief reference may be made to the effects of the war about to close on the fortunes of Nova Scotia.

In its Nova Scotian phase, or phases, the War of the Austrian Succession seemed to issue in results highly favorable on the whole to England. Mascarene, in spite of repeated efforts to dislodge him, held his assailants successfully at bay, and throughout one war at least Annapolis underwent no change of owners. The great fortress of Louisburg, built and equipped by royal munificence, on a scale unknown out of France herself, became a British possession and a base of operations against the enemies of England.

Two grand French armaments, one of them the most elaborate and costly that France had ever launched for transatlantic warfare, melted away on the ocean, D'Anville's by an almost unparalleled series of mishaps, Jonquiere's in the mouth of British cannon. Except for the clandestine raid on Grand Pré, France did not score a single victory. She lost heavily in both military and naval prestige.

Against these encouraging features of the situation there is one counterbalancing consideration, insignificant perhaps, yet working important consequences, as time will show. Cast out of Louisburg, France had to play her game as best she could. She undoubtedly made the best move within her power when she planted herself on the Isthmus of Chignecto. If finally checkmated, it was only after a desperate struggle and the employment against her of tactics the propriety of which some question. Shirley saw how skilfully the game was being played and pointed out to Newcastle how dangerous were the moves their common enemy was making. Before the Treaty

of Aix-la-Chapelle had restored Louisburg to France, England had lost all Acadia beyond the Missisquoi, and pretty well all beyond the Shubenacadie. Mascarene's writs no longer ran in those regions. No longer did obedient deputies from Tantramar and Shepody obey his call, or litigants from the isthmian and transisthmian regions ask his council to adjudicate on their boundary lines.

As for the Acadian people in the central settlements, their position had been rendered more embarrassing by the war. As long as the country of which they were at least the nominal subjects and the country to which their hearts were attached were at peace, their assumption of a neutral attitude involved simply somewhat speculative considerations. It was a decidedly practical issue when Ramisay and Mascarene presented their contradictory ultimatums. At the bottom of the whole difficulty lay the dastardly *laissez-faire* policy of Newcastle. It was a shame for England to claim to own and rule a country, and then by supine inaction permit orders to be given to her subjects by the officers of a hostile nation. There may be evidence to show that in this hour of clash and conflict, some of the priests and some of the people identified themselves too actively with the country, whose language they spoke and whose religion they professed, but that the great majority felt bound in their consciences by their oath and by the principles so carefully impressed on them by Mascarene, can be established by unquestionable facts. This statement refers to the Acadians of the Peninsula. The case of the settlements on and beyond the isthmus, whose people both before and long after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were under duress must be considered by itself. On the whole, the effect of the war had been to embroil the Acadians in increased difficulty, and to hand on to future administrators some very perplexing problems. It is exceedingly satisfactory and as surprising as were similar facts in previous years, to find that neither wars nor rumors of wars, neither Ramisay's aggressiveness nor Newcastle's supineness, not even the vexed question of dual allegiance—could arrest the normal, it may be said the rapid, growth of the Acadian people, whose numbers at the date of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were estimated at twelve thousand five hundred people.

As Louisburg—it is really astonishing to learn of the probability of such a thing—is about to be restored to France, a glance at affairs there during the preceding year or two may not be amiss.

The approach of the D'Anville Armada in 1746—Louisburg was the first point to be attacked—was naturally awaited with much anxiety. The fortifications were put in as thorough repair as possible. Ships were called in to reinforce the squadron in the harbour, so that there was gathered to meet the coming armament a fleet of nine ships of the line, none of less than forty guns, and several of sixty and sixty-four. A respectable garrison was excellently housed with abundant supplies “including an ample quantity of coal, the produce of Cape Breton.” The D'Anville fleet did not arrive, but everybody felt that if it had, Louisburg would have been equal to the emergency.

A disturbing factor in the inner life of Louisburg during the two last years of the English occupation was the somewhat eccentric conduct of the Governor, Commordore Knowles. The Commadore was a fault-finder. A regiment was being recruited at Louisburg for its captor Sir William Pepperrill. Knowles was reported to have acted towards the Colonial troops in “a most imperious, disgusting manner.” But the one thing connected with Louisburg that he could not stand was the climate, on whose disagreeable peculiarities he kept harping in all the moods and tenses of vituperation. Fog is occasionally noticeable at Louisburg, and the climate may be generally described as moist, but there has been much amelioration as regards frost and snow since the time when Knowles reported that “the sentries, though relieved every half hour, sometimes lost their toes and fingers,” and that “the snow was in some places from twelve to sixteen feet deep.” Knowles's ill opinion of things extended to Cape Breton as a whole. “Nothing but rocks, swamps, and lakes.” So he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, and Murdock is probably not far astray in explaining the Duke's giving Cape Breton back to France as a result of this unhappy description. “It”—Knowles's letter—was the fountain-head of all the dismal misrepresentations of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton so circulated and believed in during the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.



when the year was said to consist of "nine months winter and three months fog." It is but fair to Knowles to state that he had just returned from the West Indies and that he had weak lungs.

Regarding the coal centres of Cape Breton we are told by Brown, that while "the French had obtained their coal chiefly from the cliffs at Cow Bay (Port Morien) and Spanish River (Sydney), the English during their occupation of the island preferred that of Burnt Head and little Labrador (Little Bras d'Or)," and that the principal colliery was at the former place, a well known promontory between Glace Bay and L'Indienne (Lingan) Bay." It is interesting to learn that "the workmen employed in mining, or rather in digging the coal out of the cliffs"—for shafts were not necessary—"were mostly Frenchmen who had taken the oath of allegiance," and also that the Frenchmen "who dwelt at St. Peter's, St. Anne's, L'Ardoise or Isle Madame, were chiefly engaged in the fishery."

On July 4, 1745, the French prisoners and the inhabitants of Louisburg, in all 4,130 persons, sailed for Rochelle in fourteen transports, M. Duchambon and the officers of the garrison, with their families, leaving at the same time in the Lancaster frigate." Louisburg is now on the eve of becoming again for a brief space a French fortress.

The preliminaries of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which brought to an end the inglorious War of the Spanish Succession were signed in April, 1748, so far as France and England were concerned, but a definitive settlement including all parties concerned was not reached until October in the same year. It has been well said that the two nations conducting the primary negotiations were seeking peace "not because their ambitions were suspended but because their resources were exhausted." The fifth article of the Treaty provided that "all conquests made since the commencement of the war, or since the signing of the preliminary articles on April 30th last, either in Europe or the West Indies, or any other part of the world whatever shall be restored, without exception." The territorial result of this provision to England was that she recovered Madras and lost Cape Breton. The surrender of Louisburg, so brilliantly and unexpectedly won by Pepperrell and Warren, was a bitter pill to England, and

especially to New England to which the credit of its capture was due, but Lord Dandard, the British plenipotentiary, found that without the restitution, peace on anything like honorable terms was out of the question. England, indeed—so anxious and insistent was France on this Cape Breton matter—had to submit to an unwonted degradation, to drink the cup of humiliation as seldom or never before, by furnishing the hostages to guarantee the fulfillment of her engagement. When in the following July, Louisburg had been evacuated, the keys transferred to Desherbiers, the new French Governor, and the flag of France conspicuously hoisted. Lords Sussex and Cathcart, the British hostages, were duly released from their semi-captivity, and politely informed that their presence in Paris was no longer required. Ten years after the date of this rather humiliating incident, one William Pitt was paying off these old scores in fine style at Louisburg, Pittsburg and Quebec. Almost from the beginning of the English rule in what had been up to 1713 the French colony of Acadia, proposals began to be submitted to the government for peopling the new Province of Nova Scotia with settlers of British origin. Almost every Governor had some special recommendation to make, while Shirley of Massachusetts was particularly fruitful in suggestions. These various propositions resulted in nothing. It was not necessary for Newcastle to elaborate and state objections to any or all of them. He simply blocked them by his habitual *vis inertiae*. Yet the spectacle was a sufficiently ridiculous one. Nova Scotia was a large Province extending in its shore line from the Penobscot to the Bay Chaleur. It had an organized government protected by a garrison of one hundred and fifty men in a tumble-down fort, situated in a little hamlet on a retired basin. The total population, of alien speech, religion and race, numbered at most but ten or twelve thousand, with upland clearings not greatly exceeding an acre per head of the inhabitants. This absurd situation had lasted for nearly fifty years—the absurdity becoming more palpable as time wore on.

For long, there was no part of Nova Scotia less known except from the decks of passing ships, than the primitive Acadia, the southern coast line of the peninsula, particularly the stretch from La Have to Canso. For three-quarters of a century the finest harbour on the

American Coast—later Chebucto, now Halifax—had no name at all, it was simply the “Unobstructed Bay.”

The front of the peninsula had hitherto received but little consideration. One of the consequences of the brief occupation of Louisburg had been to disclose the immense importance to a nation whose strength is its navy, of having, always available for use strong naval stations, conveniently situated on oceanic waters. In particular, the cession of Louisburg rendered it necessary that a counterpoise to Louisburg should be at once provided. What could Anson and Warren do with their fleets in Annapolis River? When this view had suitably impressed itself on those responsible for the selection of a new colonising centre, the “Unobstructed Bay” took every vote.

The ink had scarcely dried on the parchment of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle when the transfer of the capital from Annapolis to Chebucto and the planting of a colony of British origin in the latter place had been fully decided on. The plan of settlement followed closely lines marked out fourteen or fifteen years before by one Captain Coram, an English philanthropist, who had lived for a time in Taunton, Massachusetts, engaged in the business of building and sailing ships. In Carlyle's “Frederic the Great,” Coram seems to be brought into actual contact with the enterprise of 1749, though as matter of fact, his scheme had been presented to the Board of Trade and Plantations, fourteen or fifteen years before and with proper official decorum pigeon-holed by that body. It is interesting to hear what Carlyle has to say :

In 1749 three things had occurred worth mention; first, Captain Coram, a public-spirited, half-pay gentleman in London, originator of the Foundling Hospital there, had turned his attention to the fine capabilities and questionable condition of Nova Scotia, with few inhabitants, and those mostly disaffected, and by many efforts now forgotten had got the government persuaded to despatch (June, 1749), a kind of half-pay or military colony to those parts: “More than 1,400 persons, disbanded officers, soldiers and marines, under Colonel Edward Cornwallis,” brother¹ of the since famous Lord Cornwallis, “who landed, accordingly, on that rough shore; stockaded themselves in

¹ Uncle.

hardly endeavoring and enduring; and next year built a town for themselves; Town of Halifax (so named from the then Lord Halifax, president of the Board of Trade) which stands there, in more and more conspicuous manner at this day. Thanks to you, Captain Coram, though the ungrateful generations (except dimly in Coram Street near your hospital) have lost all memory of you, as their wont is. Block-heads—never mind them."

This date may give an erroneous impression. Coram had no immediate connection with the expedition of 1740. His scheme for settling unemployed English artisans in Nova Scotia was brought forward in 1735, approved of by the Board of Trade and then pigeon-holed. As he did not die until 1751, it was carried out, largely on the original lines before his death. It seems that he resided for some years in Taunton, Massachusetts, when as a follower of the sea, he would naturally acquire a personal knowledge of Chignecto Bay. The elder Horace Walpole called him "the honest, most distinguished, most knowing person about the plantation I ever met with."

Within six months of the signing of peace (March, 1749) a notification offering to all officers and privates discharged from whether army or navy, and to certain specified artisans, a free passage to America, provisions for the voyage, subsistence for a year after landing, arms, ammunition, utensils and a free grant of land under the protecting aegis of a regularly organized government. Parliament voted forty thousand pounds to inaugurate the undertaking. Nearly twelve hundred heads of families hastened to volunteer. Edward Cornwallis, twin brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury and uncle of the Edward Cornwallis who surrendered at Yorktown, was Governor of Nova Scotia. He came over in the war sloop *Sphynx* on the ninth of May, and was immediately followed by the colonists—two thousand five hundred and seventy-five men in all—in thirteen transport vessels. The *Sphynx* reached Chebucto on June 21st. (O-S) and the transports a few days later. Several of the latter were sent right on to Louisburg, then undergoing evacuation, to help convey Colonel Hopson and his troops to Chebucto. There was a dense growth of forest clear down to the water's edge, so that for some time the rest of the transports had to serve as homes for the colonists till clearings could be made.

Cornwallis was a stickler for official propriety. Mascarene had been summoned from Annapolis with a quorum of his council, to which body the new Governor exhibited his commission and took the oaths of office. Thus duly installed, Cornwallis at once appointed a new council, which held its first meeting in the cabin of the *Beaufort*, one of the transports. 'Let us emblazon the names of the new councillors: Paul Mascarene, John Gorham, Benjamin Greene, John Salisbury, Hugh Davidson. Mascarene's name is already on record. He remained in Halifax for six weeks, returning thence to Annapolis. In 1751, under the direction of Cornwallis, he proceeded to New England, where he spent some time co-operating with Shirley in an attempt to arrange terms of conciliation with the Abenakis and Malicete Indians. This duty discharged, he retired from active service. His closing years were spent in Boston where he died in 1760, and where he has descendants yet living.¹

Edward Howe, one of the Annapolis councillors brought to Halifax, is supposed to have been of New England birth. At Annapolis he filled various civil posts, and was at one time "commissary of the Musters at Canso." His name has been mentioned in connection with the Conlon de Villiers expedition to Grand Pre', and will recur a few years hence when affairs on the Missiquash present themselves for notice. Of Colonel John Gorham not very much has been handed down. He was raised from the lieutenant-colony to the full colony of his father's regiment on the latter's death at Louisburg in 1745. As lieutenant-colonel he had charge of the whale-boats which bore the Provincial troops to land at the memorable siege. A brother, Joseph Gorham, who did not accompany him on his early return to new England, became a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, a member of the council and Commandant at Placentia.

Benjamin Green, son of a Massachusetts clergyman, accompanied Pepperrill to Louisburg in the capacity of secretary of the expedition, and remained in Louisburg until Cape Breton was restored to France. He had just arrived at Halifax on one of the transports sent to Louisburg for the British troops when Cornwallis called him to the council. It fell to his lot to fill many impor-

¹ Judge Foster Hutchinson of Halifax, was his grandson.

tant offices in the new Nova Scotia capital. For a number of years he was Provincial treasurer, occupying that post at the time of his death in 1772. He was also for several years judge of the court of Vice-Admiralty. His eldest son, of the same name, succeeded him as treasurer, and was also a prominent member of the Provincial Assembly. Captain Parker, one of our Nova Scotian heroes at Sebastapol, was a grandson of the latter Benjamin Green.

John Salisbury was a member of Cornwallis's personal retinue and somewhat of a hanger-on to Lord Halifax. He failed to establish any clear title to fame on his own account. He was, however, an intimate friend of the great painter Hogarth, and more than that, was father of the Mrs. Thrale, so well known to all readers of Boswell's "Life of Johnson."

Of Hugh Davidson, the last named councillor, nothing is known except that he was for a year secretary of the newly formed council, that he was called to England in 1750 to answer before the Board of Trade and Plantations certain charges preferred against him for the irregular performance of his duties, and that Cornwallis was of the opinion that most of these charges were groundless.

Towards the end of July the new city received the name of Halifax, in honor of George, Earl of Halifax, first lord of plantations and trade.¹ Cornwallis appears to have dated all his earlier letters and despatches as written at Chebucto. Halifax is uniformly used after September 17th. In describing Halifax's first summer and autumn and winter, Murdock indulges in unusual brightness and piquancy of style: "Halifax in the summer and autumn of 1749 must have presented a busy and singular scene. The ship of war, and her strict discipline—the transports swarming with passengers, who had not yet got shelter on the land—the wide extent of wood in every direction, except a little spot hastily and partially cleared, on which men might be seen trying to make walls out of the spruce trees that grew on their house lots—the boats

¹ Grandson of the Earl of Halifax, the celebrated "trimmer" statesman of the reign of Charles II, James II and William III, and to whose abilities and eloquence Macaulay pays so many warm tributes.

perpetually rowing to and from the ships—and as the work advanced a little, the groups gathered around the Englishman in the costume of the day, cocked hat, wig, knee breeches, shoes with large glittering buckles, his lady with her hook and brocades—the soldiers and sailors of the late war, now in artisan dress as settlers—the shrewd, keen, commercial Bostonian, tall, thin, wiry, supple in body and persevering in mind, calculating on land grants, saw mills, shipments of lumber, fishing profits—the unlucky habitants from Grand Pré or Pisiquid, in homespun garb, looking with dismay at the numbers, discipline and earnestness of the new settlers and their large military force—large to him who had only known the little garrison at Annapolis—the half wild Indian, made wilder and more intractable by bad advisers, who proposed to be his firmest friends—the men of war's men—the sailors of the transports, and perhaps some hardy fishermen, seeking supplies or led thither by curiosity. Of such various elements was the population composed."

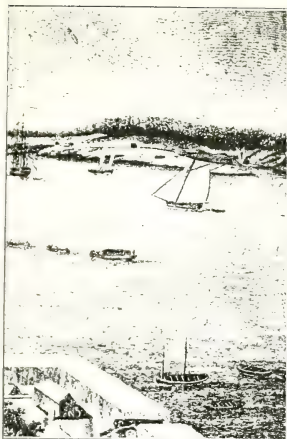
Within a month of his arrival Cornwallis issued a proclamation in French and English addressed to the Acadians calling on them to aid in the work of settlement. They were reminded that they had enjoyed full possession of their lands and the free exercise of their religion, and nevertheless they had both secretly and openly lent assistance to the King's enemies. This would all be forgiven and forgotten, and they were now called on to take the oath of allegiance and to count themselves as in reality British subjects. Some discussion took place over the precise terms of the oath to be tendered for administration. The decision was that it should be unconditional and without any kind of reservation. Deputies from Grande Pré alone were present on this occasion. These replied that they were in Chebucto simply to pay their respects to His Excellency, to learn what treatment they might expect, and especially to ascertain if they might count on the continued ministrations of their spiritual advisers. On the last point, they were informed that all priests who were to officiate in Nova Scotia must obtain definite permission from the Governor. In conclusion, the deputies were requested to report the results of this interview to the other settlements.

Early in August, ten Acadian deputies arrived in Halifax bringing

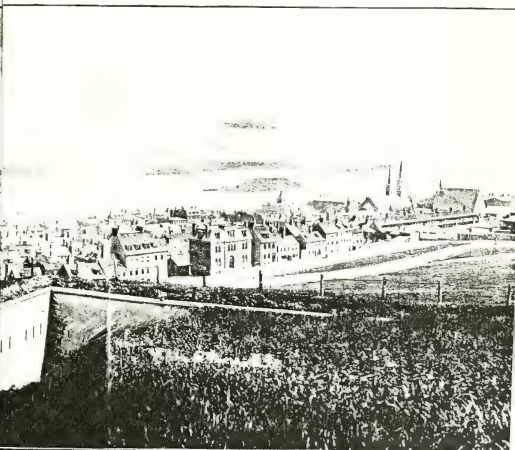
a letter representing the opinions of the districts in which they lived. After due consideration of this communication, it was resolved that the oath should be unconditional in its terms and that it would be unlawful for any priest to enter upon his duties without a license. On the reading of this declaration to the deputies, the latter inquired if they could sell their lands and effects. They were informed that by the Treaty of Utrecht a year had been allowed from the surrender of the Province, in which they could have sold their effects, a privilege of which they had failed to take advantage. At present any who should prefer to withdraw rather than remain as true subjects to the King, could sell nothing. To this putting of the case, the deputies made no answer, but simply asked for opportunity to return to their respective settlements for consultation with the inhabitants generally on the important points at issue. A peremptory notice was served that failure to take the prescribed oath on or before October 26th would involve the forfeiture of rights and titles within the Province. When the deputies suggested a desire to confer with the Governors of Canada or Cape Breton regarding the pending question, they were informed that to leave the Province without taking the oath in proper form would work a similar forfeiture. A public proclamation soon appeared calling on "the French inhabitants of the Province" to take the oath of allegiance not later than October 26th.

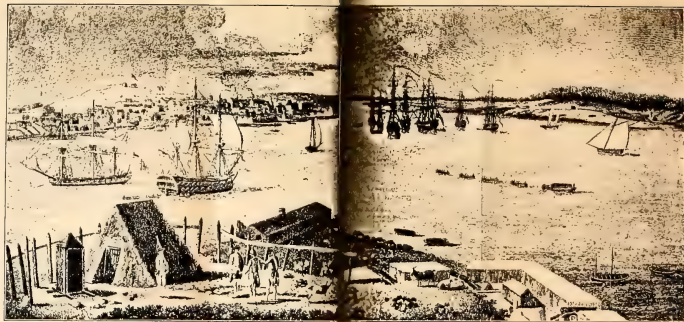
On the 17th of September the deputies reappeared with a letter subscribed to by one thousand persons. The Governor was thanked for his kindness and reference made to the oath taken to General Phillips. An oath more expressly binding than the latter would subject them to the barbarous cruelties of the Indians. The letter distinctly announced the determination of the French people not to take the oath of allegiance in its unqualified form. An exemption from obligation to take up arms was a *sine qua non*, which if not granted, would render necessary a universal migration from the country. "What caused the entire community pain, was that the English desired to live among them." ¹ This last was a plain shot at one of Shirley's proposals. Cornwallis pointed out to the deputies that this was the third

¹ Ce qui fait pitié à tout le monde, c'est apprendre que les Anglais veulent s'hab'teur parmi nous."



Basin.





VIEW OF HALIFAX IN 1717,
Taken from George's Island and to King's Yards and Bedford Basin.



HALIFAX, 1916.

time the same story had been told him, and took the ground that it was contrary to reason and common sense that people should hold lands in a country without being subjects of the sovereign of that country. Cornwallis concluded with a straightforward statement: "Gentlemen: You allow yourselves to be led by the people who find it to their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine that it is only your oath that binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which the King administers to his subjects that makes them subjects. The oath supposes that they are so already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred bond of the fidelity of those who take it. It is only out of pity to your situation, and to your inexperience in the affairs of government, that we condescend to reason with you. Otherwise, gentlemen, the question would not be reasoning, but commanding and being obeyed."

-- It must be borne in mind that the narrative of events under Cornwallis's rule in Halifax has so far not advanced more than a year beyond the signing of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle. Louisburg has been surrendered and evacuated. Halifax has been founded, and an organised government having under its control a population of four thousand souls has been established where a year before the forests extended to the water's edge. Such a phenomenon in a country whose people at the close of the first century of its colonial existence did not amount to much more than half the number landed from the transports of Cornwallis, naturally cited anxiety and alarm in France, Canada and Cape Breton. England after all had emerged from the tussle with a naval base on the finest harbour in America, with sterile surroundings it is true, yet by land march the ocean port nearest to the most fertile and populous districts of Acadia. From Abbe Le Loutre we can learn how the apparition impressed the partisan, but nevertheless keen-eyed ecclesiastic. The scene is laid at Louisburg in the summer of 1749, only a month or two after the withdrawal of the British garrison. Desherbiers, the appointed Governor was there, accompanied by Bigot, the French intendant from Quebec. It was but a short sail from Bay Verte to Louisburg and Le Loutre was not slow in embracing the opportunity to confer with his fellow countrymen fresh

from headquarters. The result of the conference he proceeded to communicate to the Governor-General of Canada de la Jonquiere, who had replaced de la Galissonniere, who had been called to France to adjust the boundary dispute with Shirley. This letter bears date July 26th. Its earliest portion simply gives information. Cornwallis has forbidden the deputies at Minas to send cattle to Louisburg, under the penalty of corporal punishment. A road was about to be cut between Chebucto and Minas. Cruisers were to stop all trade on the part of Boston and Acadia with Cape Breton. The British garrison of Louisburg was about to be sent to Chebucto (it was already there). The English were doing all in their power to conciliate the Indians by giving them presents. A garrison was to be established at Minas, and once established at Minas and at Chebucto, the English would take possession of Beaubassin and Bay Verte. Then the Abbe proceeds confidentially to state his own impressions and the conclusions which he had reached. "Such, monseigneurs, is the design of the English, and such the situation of Acadia that the French habitants are seized with general terror. They took upon themselves as on the point of becoming English by their life and religion, or to leave and abandon their country." After some remarks as to the missionaries in the country Le Loutre continues, "I have seen Monsieur de Desherbiers, and M. M. Bigot, and Prevost who have promised me all possible assistance to preserve the savages in their religion, and in the fidelity which they owe His Majesty. In consequence I am starting for Acadia. I will do my best to assemble my Indians, and as it is not possible, openly to oppose the enterprise of the English, I think that we cannot do better than excite the savages to continue to carry on war against the English. My intention is to cause the Indians to tell the English that they will not permit new establishments in Acadia, which they contend should remain as before the war, and that if the English persist in their design, the Indians will never be at peace with them and will declare against them an internal war. My Indians consequently will dispatch among the other nations to invite them to join in opposing the enterprises of the English and to prevent them forming their establishments."

"Such, monseigneur, is the course I will take for the good of the state and for religion, and I will do my best to make it appear to the

English that this design has its origin with the savages, and as I shall be in Acadia, I will spare nothing to learn the intentions of the English." This letter, unveiling the secret purposes of one whom Richard calls "a self-constituted agent of the French" clearly enough reveals the secret of the murderous Indian assaults on the English settlements during the few years following the founding of Halifax. "Here," to quote Richard, "it will be well to pause and consider this Abbé Le Loutre who played so considerable a part in the events of this epoch. He has brought hatred upon himself, not less from the French officers and even from the Acadians than from the English."

For about ten years he was a missionary among the Micmac Indians of the river Shubenacadie, between Cobequid and Chignecto (Truro and Halifax). We hardly ever hear of him until the war of 1744. In 1745 he accompanied the Indians of his mission and others in an expedition against Annapolis, after which he withdrew to Bay Verte (on French territory, or claimed as such by France) with his Indians. Shortly after, he went to France, whence he returned in 1747 when the war was drawing to a close. Thenceforward until 1755 he resided at Beau Sejour. Richard in his *Acadia* endeavors with some success to convict Parkman and others of inaccuracies and misjudgments regarding individual charges which they have preferred against Le Loutre; and concludes that Le Loutre's faults "are attributable rather to his illbalanced mind than to a disordered will;" but his admissions are as fatal to the reputation of Le Loutre as his own statements to de la Jonquiere. "It was dread of these Indians that for half a century, prevented England from colonising Nova Scotia. The French imagined that by harassing the new colonists and spreading terror through skilfully managed hostilities, they could disgust them with England's projects. It was an inhuman and insane policy which could only end in embittering England and increasing her efforts to dislodge her rival, whose presence would ever be a rival to her commerce and her expansion."

The influence of the French on the Indians was artfully disguised; but we know enough about it to visit it with unqualified reprobation. The instruments employed by the Governors of Canada to carry out this wicked and fatal policy was that Abbé Le Loutre whom I have

just mentioned. His blind zeal, his efforts in urging the Indians to worry the colonists introduced by Cornwallis, his unjustifiable methods for forcing the Acadians against their will to cross the frontier deserve to be condemned by every one, especially the Acadians."

The policy outlined in the letter to de la Jonquiere was entered on without delay. Practising a secrecy worthy of one of his own Indians, Le Loutre kept completely in the dark. At Minas, Canso, Dartmouth, Halifax, or wherever else an Englishman's head displayed itself, from secure hiding places, the elusive savages kept sniping away with guns and ammunition provided by the Governors of Canada and Cape Breton, and distributed to their users from the central arsenal at Bay Verte by Le Loutre himself. Of Indian warfare at its worst, Nova Scotia saw not a little in those early days of her history—the midnight yell, the whizzing bullet, the ruthless tomahawk, the scalping knife, the captivity worse than death. The horrors which Haliburton describes were realized when France and England had just ratified a solemn peace and when the latter had committed no crime except the planting of a colony on her own territory: "Strangers can form no estimate and the present generation of Americans but a very inadequate one of the nature of a war with savages and the horrors of an Indian captivity. Their mode of making war was altogether different from that of Europeans, it was a dilatory, murderous and predatory excursion, conducted by detached parties, who killed, scalped and plundered their enemy and retreated with such expedition that they were generally out of reach before an alarm could be given, or secrete themselves in swamps and thickets where they could not be pursued. Forts yielded no protection to the inhabitants they intended to attack, for they easily passed them under the shade of, or the cover of night, and lay in wait for solitary settlers or detached families, whom they despatched in secret and in silence, and returned by paths which though obvious to themselves were altogether imperceptible to others. If time and opportunity permitted they carried off their prisoner to glut their appetite by inflicting a lingering and cruel death or extort an exorbitant ransom from their friends and relations. Instant execution was often preferable to protracted captivity. Accustomed to expedition, they could brook no delay, and the impediments of a

trackless forest, deep brooks, and rugged precipice constituted no apology for not keeping pace with the merciless victors. The prisoners not infrequently sank under trials too severe for human nature to support."

In August 1752, Cornwallis retired from the governorship and returned to England. It was by no means a case of recall. His request for permission to retire had already been in the hands of the Ministry for more than a year, and the assent when given had been very reluctantly granted. The reasons underlying the request have been variously stated,—impaired health, worry over his multifarious duties, dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Treasury Board treated his bills of exchange. Regarding the last point, Cornwallis frankly admitted that he had no aptitude for financial details and claimed that he had no one to help him keep them straight. A pending marriage engagement was without much doubt the influential factor in cutting short his term of governorship. He was succeeded by Sir Peregrine Thomas Hopson, the last English Governor of Louisburg.

The name Cornwallis, perpetuated by what is perhaps the finest township in our Province, will always be held in respect by Nova Scotia, not only as that of the founder of their capital city but as that of a judicious and capable administrator of affairs under somewhat difficult and trying conditions.

A brief reference to his military and political records, epitomised from Dr. Atkin's article on *The First Council* (N. S. Historical Collection, Vol. 1) may not be out of place. As major of the Twentieth Foot, he served with credit through the campaigns in Flanders in 1744 and 1745. After the close of the war the Twentieth was stationed at Sterling, in Scotland, where Cornwallis commanded as lieutenant-colonel, with James Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, as major. At Sterling he received the appointment of Governor of Nova Scotia, being at the same time raised to the rank of full colonel. Wolfe, made lieutenant-colonel succeeded him in command of the regiment. Cornwallis' commission as Governor of Nova Scotia bears date May 6, 1749. Colonel Wolfe, in a letter to an officer then stationed at Halifax, says: "Tell Cornwallis I thank him for making me a lieutenant-colonel. If I was

to rise by his merit, as upon this occasion, I should soon be at the top of the list. He promised to write to some of us but has not; they are not the less ardent for his prosperity as the whole corps unites in one common wish for his welfare and success."

His military career subsequently to his return from Nova Scotia, in 1752, was on two occasions beclouded by similar causes. It fell to the lot of his regiment to be attached to the Minorca relief expedition under the unfortunate Byng. Cornwallis, largely as a matter of form on the part of a junior officer, signed the declaration that it was impossible to relieve the British Commander at St. Philip's Castle, a declaration which led to the refusal of help from Gibraltar, and which, rightly or wrongly, cost poor Byng his life. Cornwallis as a signatory to the declaration fell into disgrace, regarding which circumstance Wolfe wrote his father: "I don't suppose that there is a man living more to be pitied than poor Cornwallis, as he has more zeal, more merit and more integrity than one commonly meets with among men. He will be proportionately mortified to find himself in disgrace with the best intentions to deserve honor. I am terribly sorry to find him involved with the rest, of whose abilities and inclinations no one has any high notions. But Cornwallis is a man of approved courage and fidelity. He has unhappily been misled upon this occasion by people of not half his value." Cornwallis was soon restored to favor and given command, only to be entrapped again. An unsuccessful expedition having been launched against the French post of Rochefort, with General Conway, under whom he served in that affair, was induced to subscribe to a declaration prepared by General Mordaunt, the Commander-in-Chief, that the withdrawal of the fleet from Rochefort was a naval necessity. Extreme measures, however, were not taken against the inferior officers as Cornwallis was soon gazetted as Major-General, and in 1759 was appointed to the governorship of Gibraltar. He married immediately on his return from Halifax in 1753, and died childless in 1776.

Before coming to Nova Scotia, he sat in Parliament one or two sessions as member for Eye, a pocket borough entirely under the control of the Cornwallis family. After his return to England, he was elected M. P. for Westminster to fill the vacancy caused by the death

of Sir Peter Warren of Louisburg fame, and was again returned at the next ensuing general election.

An incident—and by no means an unimportant one—of the Cornwallis period in Nova Scotia was the arrival in Halifax of a considerable body of German immigrants seeking permanent residence in the Province. Mingled with these proposed settlers from Germany, were some from Switzerland, and several from the French town of Montbelliard. The Germans belonging chiefly to a district called Lüneburg, the name slightly altered became attached to the town and county selected as their permanent home in Nova Scotia. The total number of immigrants according to Desbrisay's "History of Lunenburg County," thus reaching Halifax, amounted to "1615". "We can imagine them," the learned historian goes on to say, "having been led hither in safety by the guiding hand of protecting Providence, touching what was to them a foreign shore, and looking back on the vessels they had just left as the last outward and visible links in the chain between the Old World and the New." Lüneburg, it ought perhaps to be added, is in Hanover, of which country the British Monarch, George the Second, was elector and king.

These immigrants came to Nova Scotia in consequence of a proclamation published in Hanover in 1750. Fifty acres of land each, free from all rents and taxes for ten years, were offered, with maintenance for twelve months after arrival in the Province. They were to be provided with arms and ammunition, and a sufficient quantity of materials and implements for housekeeping, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations and promoting the fisheries. The climate of the Province was represented as healthy, the soil as productive and fertile, yielding an abundance of everything necessary to support life, with a sea coast abounding in fish, well situated for shipping and trade, and furnished with secure and convenient harbors.⁷ The draftsmen of that proclamation seem to have had a perfect prevision of the region in which the descendants of these settlers were to find themselves ultimately planted. Sometimes it is interesting to unearth the precise particulars of old events. Intending emigrants were to "Apply to Mr. John (Johann) Dick, or to his agent, in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, who may be found by inquiry to John Adam O'Hen-

slagan, ship-master, who resides at the Sachsenhausen bridge." The man who posted those notices in and around Lunenburg an hundred and sixty years ago was helping to lay the foundations of one of the finest counties in Canada. But excellent as have been the final results of this immigration, the first sight of things in Nova Scotia could not have given the newcomers much comfort and encouragement. From the deck as the vessel beat up from Sambro they caught no vision of fertile fields: nothing but alternating forest and cold grey rock; and when they got within George's Island, nothing but a few straggling rows of huts and shanties. No doubt Cornwallis, who was a most kind and considerate man, gave the strangers a hearty handshake but he was "extremely distressed by having on his hands in and about this place all the foreign settlers who arrived in 1750 and 1751." The problem of locating the immigrants, however, did not devolve on Cornwallis. It was handed down to his successor, Colonel Hopson. The last installment of settlers, indeed, did not arrive until after Cornwallis had sailed away for good in the Torrington gunboat in September 1752.

The only tolerably extensive area of available land on the southern coast line of the Province is the district lying between Mahone Bay and La Have River, and constituting with its enlargements east, west, and north, the present county of Lunenburg. The valley of the La Have, especially in its upper reaches, is fertile, as are some of the islands on the coast. The oceanic harbour of the district was known as Merliguesche Bay, and on its shores it was decided to locate the German settlers. The following extract from a letter written by Governor Hopson to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, dated July 23rd, 1753, seems to show that Musquodoboit was the leading competitor with Merliguesche for the honor of being the chosen site. "I pitched upon Merliguesche for the outsettlement of the foreigners. It was preferable to Musquodoboit as there is a good harbour, which is wanting at Musquodoboit. Had it been possible to send the settlers by land it would have been a great satisfaction to me to have saved the expense of hiring vessels, but on inquiry found it absolutely impossible, not only as they would have had at least fifty miles to go through the woods, but there is no road."

Colonel Lawrence with ninety-two regular and sixty-six rangers conveyed the migration in the provincial sloop, under Captain Sylvanus Cobb. Fourteen transports carried the main company. The voyage was marked by no incident and marred by no accident. The usual difficulties attendant on building homes in the North American forest were encountered, but they were bravely met and in good time overcome. "They went to work to clear the wilderness on the 7th of June, 1753," just one hundred and forty-nine years after de Monts and Champlain first sighted the adjacent headland of La Have.

On retiring from the governorship in the autumn of 1752, Cornwallis may be said to have left the question of Acadian allegiance in the position in which he found it. In the negotiations at Aix la Chapelle the opportunity had not been embraced by either party to introduce into the treaty then in process of formation, a specific definition of the rights and obligations of descendants of former subjects of France, who might continue to reside in the British Province of Nova Scotia. Apart from the surrender of Cape Breton, the sole contribution of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle to the settlement of disputes in which Nova Scotia was concerned was in the provision for an international commission to determine its boundaries.

In obedience to his instructions, Cornwallis's first public act after the formation of his council, was to call upon the Acadian population to subscribe to an explicit unconditional oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Their refusal to take such an oath was accompanied by an expression of willingness to swear allegiance to King George, subject to the modification embraced in the alleged verbal guarantee of Governor Phillips. The Acadians would be British subjects but freed from all obligation to take up arms against France. The Governor tendered an abundance of good advice to the French deputies, but took no action towards enforcing his orders. There is nothing on record to show how this official report of the failure of his effort was received by the Ministry at home. So far things have simply reverted to the position in which they were thirty years before. This at least is their *prima facie* aspect. But the problem is now a complicated one. Henceforth, until it reaches its solution in a terrible catastrophe, there will be two largely distinct Acadias passing to and fro before us

Failure to distinguish them is responsible for much of the confusion that has marked the Acadian controversy on both sides.

At the date of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle the Canadian Viceroy at Quebec was the Marquis de la Galissonnière. He was a naval officer, who had been unexpectedly called into service to fill the place for which de la Jonquière, who ultimately became his successor, had been designated. Jonquière, who was to have succeeded Beauharnois in 1746, lost one year by the collapse of the D'Anville Expedition, with which he was sailing to Quebec with his commission in his pocket, and another by his own defeat and capture off Cape Finisterre the following summer. De la Galissonnière occupied the post of Governor-General from 1747 to 1749. The latter year he returned to France to act on the Boundary Commission with de la Silhouette as his French colleague, and Shirley and Mildmay as his English antagonist. He was succeeded in the governorship by de la Jonquière, who ruled at Quebec during the years spent by Cornwallis at Halifax.

De la Galissonnière, though physically deformed, was endowed with remarkable intellectual powers, a highly constructive imagination, and a resolute will. Landing at Quebec in 1747, his soul took fire at the thought of winning the whole continent for France, save Mexico and possibly the coastal strip between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. Anticipating the early restoration of Cape Breton, he proposed to construct a chain of forts from Louisburg to Louisiana. With the Western part of his grand scheme we have nothing to do. His plan for the East was formed with the eye of a true strategist. As anticipated in his celebrated memoir, written on the eve of the Treaty of Aix de Chapelle, Cape Breton was soon restored to France. The French contention had always been that the Acadia of the Treaty of Utrecht was bounded northerly by the Isthmus of Chignecto, if not by a still more southerly line. De la Galissonnière's scheme contemplated the immediate and practical assertion of this claim by placing an armed force on the frontier line, constructing forts at strategic points, and above all by removing the French Acadians from the Peninsula in a body, and establishing them north of the Isthmus, thus forming a living barrier for the protection of southeastern Canada, or rather building up a solid Canada from the Bay of Fundy to the St. Lawrence. With

such an extended and consolidated Canada, flanked by the important islands in the Gulf, Newfoundland and the Nova Scotia peninsula would be practically worthless possessions to England. In pursuance of this policy, before he retired from the governorship in 1749 to enter on the work of the Boundary Commission, he posted two of his ablest Generals in Northern Acadia, Boishebert on the St. John river and de la Corne on the Isthmus. The duty of co-operating with them in transferring the people of the southern and central parishes to the north of the Missiquash was left in the hands of LeLoutre.

Carlyle thus sets forth the ambitions of France:

"Southward and westward, France in its exuberant humor, claims for itself the whole Basin of the St. Lawrence, and the whole Basin of the Mississippi as well; 'Have not we Stockades, Castles,—at the military points: Fortified places in Louisiana itself?' Yes: and how many ploughed fields bearing crops have you? It is to the good Plougher, not ultimately to the good Cannonier, that these portions of Creation will belong. The exuberant intention of the French is, after getting back Cape Breton, 'To restrict these aspiring English Colonies,' mere Ploughers and Traders, hardly numbering above one million, 'to the space eastward of the Alleghany Mountains,' over which they are beginning to climb, 'and southward of that Missiquash, or, at the farthest, of the Penobscot and Kennebunk' (rivers *hodie* in the State of Maine). That will be a very pretty Parallelogram for them and their ploughs and tradepacks; we, who are 50,000 odd, expert with the rifle far beyond them, will occupy the rest of the world. Such is the French exuberant notion: and, October, 1748, before signature at Aix la Chapelle, much more before delivery of Cape Breton, the commandant at Detroit (west end of Lake Erie) had received orders, "To oppose pre-emptorily every English establishment not only thereabout but on the Ohio or its tributaries: by monition first; and they by force, if monition do not serve."

Cornwallis's term of administration extended from June, 1749 to September, 1752. Akin's History of Halifax City (N. S. Historical Soc. Collection, Vol. VIII) shows how close and constant was his attention to matters connected with the founding and development of his infant town. In what was left of the summer, and the two earlier

months of autumn, he had to provide homes for a population of four thousand people. The working staff at his command was surprisingly and regrettably small. He informs the Lords of Trade (July 24, 1749) that "the number of settlers, men, women, and children is fourteen hundred, but I beg leave to observe to your Lordships that amongst them the number of industrious, active men proper to undertake and carry on a new settlement is very small. Of soldiers there were only one hundred; of tradesman, sailors, and others, able and willing to work not above two hundred." The force at his command was put to work at once. The first felling of trees was at Point Pleasant, a site soon exchanged for what is now the central portion of the city shore line, where there was "bold anchorage close to the shore." The town as originally laid out had as its north and south limits the present Buckingham and Salter streets, and the line of the western wall or palisade connecting them corresponded pretty nearly with Grafton street. The palisade of pickets, which enclosed the whole town except on the harbor side, was interspersed with log forts or block houses. These defences should probably be placed somewhat later in the record, but there are many proofs to show that in its initial stage the work of founding Halifax was considering the scarcity of labor, progressing at a considerably rapid rate. One of the settlers wrote to a friend in England under date July 15th, a month after the *Sphynx's* arrival: "The officers (just arrived from Louisana) have brought all their furniture, and a great number of milch cows and other stock, besides military stores. We have already cleared about twenty acres, and every one has a hut of his own. Our work goes on briskly and the method of employing the people by ships' companies has a good effect, and as the Governor is preparing to lay out the lots of land we shall soon have a very convenient and pleasant town built, which is to be called Halifax. There are already several wharves built and one gentleman is erecting a saw-mill; public store-houses are also building and grain of various sorts have been sown. We have received constant supplies of plank and timber for building and fresh stock of rum in great quantities, twenty schooners frequently coming in in one day. We have also a hundred cows and some sheep brought down to us by the French at Minas, which is about thirty

miles from the bottom of the bay, to which we propose to cut a road.

"The French deputies promised to send us fifty men for that purpose and to assist us as far as they are able. . . . In short, everything is in a very prosperous way. But I should be equally unjust and ungrateful were I to conclude without paying the tribute which is due to our Governor. He seems to have nothing in view but the interest of and happiness of all. His zeal and prudent conduct in the difficult task assigned him cannot be too much admired." Another settler, writing in March, 1750, gives his impressions of Halifax: "The country is all a wilderness as you may easily imagine, having never from the beginning of the world been inhabited by a rational creature, for the natives are as wild as beasts; everything growing and rotting of itself, without the least cultivation. The earth is good clay, and stony ground; and for what appears by that part which is cleared and the town built upon, there is good hope that any seed or plants will do exceedingly well, the soil above being a good black earth." The writer with an eye for trade, adds some advice in a P. S. "If you know of any who intend to come over, let them bring no money but thread, stockings, linen, &c., &c., for they will double the value."

At the end of his term of office there was much in connection with the settlement of Halifax on which the retiring Governor could look back with satisfaction. The population was naturally enough a somewhat shifting one, but a solid substantial residential nucleus had been formed. Though most of the old discharged soldiers and sailors who had crowded the transports, had either died or gone away, there were constant arrivals from the older provinces, so that indeed "the New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population."

A sloop arrived on the 30th of August (1749) with one hundred and sixteen settlers, "all quite healthy." To accommodate these new settlers, two new streets—Bell's Lane and Jacob streets were added to the town.

The spiritual wants of the settlers were not lost sight of by the British Government. The Lords of Trade and Plantations arranged with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—in foreign parts to appoint ministers for the new settlement. The site originally selected for the church edifice was at the north end of the Grand Parade

where the City Hall now stands, but it was soon exchanged for the present site of St. Paul's Church on the opposite end of the Parade. A lot at the southwest corner of Prince and Hollis streets was assigned for a meeting house for the use of Protestant dissenters.

The government found it necessary to check the indiscriminate use of spirituous liquors by a license duty. The maintenance of law and order and the prevalence of justice were secured by the Governor's Council converting itself into a Court of Law, judicial functions being added to the Legislature and executive ones already exercised. On the first convening of the court it tried Abram Goodside, boat-swain's mate of the *Beaufort*, who had stabbed and wounded two men. He was found guilty and hanged under the Governor's warrant.

As a boundary stream—it is such to this day—and in view of the stirring scenes enacted on its banks, the small tidal river known as the Missiquash, has played quite a part in the history of Eastern British America. De Galissonnière, who is now sitting on a commission in Paris which has as its express object the determination of the boundaries of Nova Scotia, has already, as Governor-General, decreed that the Missiquash bounds the Province to the north, the precise point at issue before the Commissioners. So a rather singular spectacle is presented. The two nations are ostensibly at peace. They have appointed a commission practically for the purpose of deciding whether the Missiquash is or is not, the northern limit of Nova Scotia. Yet France assumes the question settled and builds an expensive fortress as a sentinel to guard her rights to the disputed territory. Quite anomalous certainly. Fort Lawrence,—such was the name given to the complex of palisaded block house and barracks erected on the other side of the river—was confessedly on English ground and its existence can therefore be sufficiently explained on the general "Watch the

enemy" principle. For five years these two fortifications from their respective hills kept gazing on each other across the waving meadows and wheat fields. During this time, if we except the tragic death of poor Edward Howe,¹ Fort Lawrence had no history, though a garrison of six hundred men were maintained there until the fall of Fort Beauséjour in 1755. Beauséjour on the other hand was the central point from which Le Loutre's campaign was directed. La Corne was succeeded as commandant by de Vasson, and Vasson by de la Martiniere, and Martiniere by Vergor. It is needless to say that La Loutre was the real Commander-in-Chief. The very incarnation of activity, he continued in spite of ever-increasing opposition to press forward de la Gallisonniere's scheme for the withdrawal of the peninsular population.

It is not clear that as a strategic move the project was a wise one, that France would have been much the gainer by depopulating the peninsula only to strengthen New England by having it filled with settlers of British blood; but, wise or unwise, its failure was not due to any lack of energy on the part of Le Loutre. As a matter of fact, it not only failed but also involved those who listened to Le Loutre's appeals, or were influenced by his threats, in much inconvenience and suffering, to say nothing of the hardships imposed on the transisthmian settlements in which the immigrants were obliged to find temporary homes. As the numbers of the latter increased, and especially after the expulsion from Beaubassin, the villages north of the isthmus, at Tantramar and Shepody, which had already to provide for the necessities of a large armed force, were greatly distressed, while those people, who had deserted their homes bitterly cursed their stars for the folly that induced them to listen to Le Loutre. Drifting off to the Isle St. Jean and Cape Breton, they were glad when opportunity offered to return to Nova Scotia. The efforts put forth to bring about a general migration from the peninsula are among the best known events of Acadian history, but as to the extent to which they were successful much misconception prevails. If we accept some accounts, the peninsula was virtually depopulated before the edict of

¹ Edward Howe was with Lawrence as an adviser and particularly as a useful intermediary from his knowledge of French and extensive acquaintance with the Indians. A false flag of truce was employed to bring him down.

expulsion was communicated to Winslow and Murray; but we cannot find that apart from the enforced evacuation by its inhabitants of the isthman village of Beaubassin in 1750 under quite special circumstances, southern Acadia suffered any extensive denudation of its population. Undoubtedly the urgent appeals of Le Loutre drew some settlers northward, but these were chiefly from Cobequid and other nearer points. Those who were induced to come from the more southerly villages were mainly single men, attracted by offers of service in the army or in Le Loutre's grand scheme for the reclamation of the Tantramar Marsh. It is true that numerous petitions were sent to the government at Halifax from various bodies of Acadians asking permission to withdraw beyond the border, but there is no evidence to show that these were the free and spontaneous expressions of those who signed them. On the contrary, Le Loutre himself admits that from first to last the prospect of leaving their fertile fields and blooming orchards encountered the stoutest resistance from the home-loving settlers of the peninsula. Garneau's isolated statement, seemingly endorsed by Hannay, that Le Loutre succeeded in inducing not less than three thousand to move across the Missiquash, is entirely out of harmony with his own admissions elsewhere and the general tenor of his narrative. It is altogether incredible that within the years 1749-51 the settlements south of Chignecto suffered a loss amounting to nearly half their population, as some authorities go so far as to state.

Colonel Peregrine Thomas Hopson, who succeeded Cornwallis in the governorship in September 1752, occupied the position for little more than a year. Apart from the settlement of the German and Swiss immigrants at Lunenburg, the account of which has been anticipated, the year of Hopson's rule has few outstanding features. The situation on the isthmus has already been indicated. Hopson's policy towards the Acadians of the peninsula was mild and pacific. A few months after his inauguration, he wrote to the Lords of Trade:

"I should be glad to have Your Lordship's opinion as early in the spring as possible, concerning the oath I am to tender to the Acadians, as directed by the sixty-eighth article of my instructions.

"Mr. Cornwallis can thoroughly inform your Lordships how diffi-

cult, if not impossible it may be, to force such a thing upon the Acadians, and what ill consequences may attend it. I believe he can likewise acquaint you, that the inhabitants of Beaubassin—who had taken it before with General Phillip's condition—made it a pretence to quit their allegiance and retire from their lands, though it was not otherwise offered to them than by issuing the King's Proclamation to that effect.

"As they appear to be much better disposed than they have been, and hope will still amend, and, in a long course of time, become less scrupulous, I beg to know Your Lordship's wishes in the spring how far His Majesty would approve my silence on the head till a more convenient opportunity.

"Mr. Cornwallis can inform Your Lordships how useful and necessary these people are to us, how impossible it is to do without them, or to replace them even if we had other settlers to put in their places; and, at the same time, how obstinate they have always been when the oath has been offered."

This was followed in due time by instructions to the fort commanders at Grand Prê and Pisiquid:

"You are to look on the Acadians in the same light with the rest of His Majesty's subjects, as to the protection of the laws and government, for which reason nothing is to be taken from them by force, or any price set upon their goods but what they themselves agree to; and, if at any time they should obstinately refuse to comply with what His Majesty's service may require of them, you are not to redress yourself by military force or in any unlawful manner to lay the case before the Governor and wait His orders thereon. You are to cause the following orders to be stuck up on the most public part of the Fort, both in English and in French:

"1st. The provisions or any other commodities that the Acadians shall bring to the fort to sell are not to be taken from them at any fixed price, but to be paid for according to a free agreement made between them and the purchasers.

"2nd. No officer nor non-commissioned officer or soldier shall presume to insult or otherwise abuse any of the Acadians, who are

upon all occasions to be treated as His Majesty's subjects and to whom the laws of the country are open, to protect as well as to punish.

"At the season of laying in fuel for the fort you are to signify to the Acadians by their deputies that it is His Majesty's pleasure they lay in the quantity of wood that you require and when they have complied, you are to give them certificates specifying what quantity they have furnished which will entitle them to payment at Halifax."

Richard's *Acadia* uses the foregoing documents as the basis of a contrast between the action taken by Cornwallis and Hopson in their respective treatment of the Acadian oath question, and of the Acadian people generally. The contrast drawn is most unfavorable to Cornwallis, but is manifestly unfair. Cornwallis, in demanding an unconditional oath at the beginning of his governorship, was acting under imperial instructions. If in seeking to accomplish the object aimed at, he indulged a little too freely in both the spirit and language of paternalism, it was quite natural, and most candid persons will say that if he erred on one side, the representatives of the Acadians did on the other. Besides, Richard extracts the sting from his own criticism. He admits that Cornwallis having discharged his duty, let the matter of the oath drop, and that the sentiments expressed by Hopson were really derived from his predecessor, that Hopson, in fact, was simply asking permission to continue Cornwallis's policy.

In November (1753), Hopson, who was a martyr to rheumatism, obtained permission to return to England for the winter. According to precedent the administration of affairs during the governor's absence devolved on the President of the Council, Colonel Charles Lawrence. Not long after Hopson's return to England, ill health compelled him to retire from the governorship, and he never revisited the shores of Nova Scotia as governor. During his brief term of office he had gained public confidence to such a degree as to make his retirement a matter of general regret.

A Mr. Ellis of whom little is known, was appointed his successor, and nominally filled the governorship, of course drawing the salary though he never "came out"—until 1756, when he formally resigned. From the date of Hopson's retirement (1753) to that of his own death in 1760, the duties of the governorship were practically

discharged by Lawrence, as President of the Council (1753-4), Lieutenant Governor (1754-6), and governor (1756-60). During Lawrence's four years as Governor-in-Chief, Colonel Robert Moncton was Lieutenant-Governor.

CHARLES LAWRENCE.

Charles Lawrence, who from 1753 to 1760 was the central figure of Nova Scotian History, had been a soldier from his youth up. He had seen service in defending the hinterland of New York, Virginia, and Massachusetts from Indian raids, and had been wounded at Fontenoy. His military reputation was excellent. Even in the small matter of planting at Chignecto the fort which bore his name the country side around still perpetuates it—he had shown the qualities which distinguish the true soldier. When serving together in Flanders, Cornwallis and Lawrence had formed an intimate acquaintance, so that when the latter came with his regiment from Louisburg to Chebucto shortly after the arrival of the Sphynx in 1749, they met as old friends. Naturally, Cornwallis invited Lawrence to his Council board, and as long as he remained in Nova Scotia—so the record shows—leaned strongly for support on his remarkable executive ability.

Mere soldierly qualities, a stout heart and a resolute will, a splendid physique and an altogether imposing and impressive personality,—all these which marked Lawrence to an exceptionally high degree, cannot alone be relied on for the successful solution of the delicate and difficult problems which lie before him as he assumes the reins of office. We are, however, not required to anticipate how he will conduct himself when confronted by questions and issues that demand not so much promptitude, courage and executive energy as breadth of view, cool-headed sobriety of judgment, ability to distinguish between things that differ, and a careful balancing of opposing considerations.

Nothing but repetition or confusion can result from an attempt to exhibit in the form of strict annals the events of the years during

which Charles Lawrence was governor of Nova Scotia. It is proposed to deal first and separately with the events, chiefly of a military or semi-military character, that led up to, and culminated in the expulsion of its Acadian population from the territories which England claimed to be the Acadia ceded to her by the Treaty of Utrecht. These events constitute the outstanding features of the earlier years of the governorship of Cornwallis. It is not for the purpose of displaying them in bold relief, much less of discussing their issue in a controversial spirit, but simply in the interest of intelligibility that it is proposed to consider them in their entirety. Subsequently the history of the period outside of these particular lines, or but partially and indirectly included in them, can be taken up and traced.

In the Spring of 1755 a council of colonial governors was held at Alexandria to consider what plans were necessary to counterwork the plainly projected scheme of France; to head off English expansion beyond the Alleghanies, and to follow up such consideration, will, if not concerted, at least, with well-co-ordinated action to thwart their common enemy's designs. A fourfold plan of campaign was arranged. Braddock was to attack Fort Duquesne. Shirley, back from his bootless grapple with de la Galissonniere over the boundaries of Acadia, would lead his own and Pepperell's regiment, for the reduction of Niagara. Sir William Johnson, with troops of the central provinces, supplemented by Indian allies, was to break through at Crown Point. What it concerns us most to know is that an attack on Fort Beausejour, under so distinguished and competent a leader as Sir Robert Moncton, was included in the programme.

Shirley and Lawrence had anticipated the confirmatory action of the Council of Governors in respect to the inclusion of an attack on Fort Beausejour in the summer's programme. Advantage was taken of a rumor to the effect that the eastern Indians were projecting a raid on the settlers in Maine, to impress upon the Secretary of State the importance of striking a blow when those dreaded allies of the French were absent from their accustomed haunts. A favorable response, dictated from this point of view, was interpreted as an unqualified approval. Shirley outdid himself in activity. Acting under his directions John Winslow soon had two thousand volun-

teers ready to assist the regulars at Fort Lawrence in the attack on the rival fort. Shirley himself was Colonel of the newly organized Provincial regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott each commanded a battalion. Sir Robert Moncton was in supreme charge of the expedition, keeping in close touch, of course, with Governor Lawrence, in Halifax.

The transports conveyed by a number of frigates under Captain Rous, sailed from Boston on May 22nd. They anchored in Meramguin Bay (Cumberland Basin) within five or six miles of Beauséjour, on the last of June. The following day the troops landed at Fort Lawrence, and were ready to march against the fortress that frowned upon them from the opposite hill.

The work at Beauséjour had been planned by M. Jacon de Piedmont and if they had been fully completed would have been reasonably strong. The fort comprised five bastions, mounted with thirty-two small cannons, and one mortar. There were eight 18-pounders not mounted. The garrison consisted of one hundred and fifty men and fourteen officers of the marine regiment. Altogether neither the defences nor the defenders were fitted to cope with such an assault as that about to be launched against them. De Vergor had been taking things easily, acting on the advice of that prince of speculators, the Intendant Bigot, to "cut and clip" when he had the chance. The advent of the fleet in the basin had come as a great surprise.

The following account of the siege is taken from an excellent brochure by a gentleman whose home was in close proximity to the Fort.

On the 4th of June, the English broke camp and marched North from Fort Lawrence, a distance of about two miles along the ridge of high land; then, entering the Missiquash valley, they crossed over to Pont à Buot, or Buot's Bridge, which spanned the Missiquash River. This bridge was near what is now Point de Bute Corner. Here the French had a block-house garrisoned with thirty men. There was also a breastwork of timber. This place was defended for an hour by the French, and then, setting fire to the little fort, they left the English to cross over without opposition. The vic-

¹The Chignecto Isthmus and its first settlers, by Howard Treenon.

torious force camped that night on the Point de Bute side of the Missiquash River.

At this day it is difficult to account for the slight value the Acadian seemed to place upon his home. He appears to have been always ready to set it on fire at the least danger of its falling into the hands of the English. The sixty houses that stood between Buot's Bridge and Beausejour all went up in flame that night, fired by the French soldiers as they retired before the English.

From the 4th until the 13th of June the English were engaged in cutting roads, building bridges, transporting cannon, and getting these into position north of the fort, on the high ground, within shelling distance. During this time the French had been strengthening their defenses and making other arrangements for withstanding a siege. The Abbe Le Loutre ceased work on his "aboiteau" and sent his men to assist at the fort. Scouting parties from either camp met once or twice, and the Indians captured an English officer named Hay, who was passing from Fort Lawrence to the English camp.

SURRENDER OF THE FORT.

On the 13th the English threw a few shells into the fort, and continued to shell the place on the 14th, without much apparent result. On that day Vergor received tidings that no help could be sent from Louisburg. This news was more disastrous to the French than the English shells. The Acadians lost all heart and began to slip away into the woods and the settlements to the northward. The next day, the 15th, larger shells were thrown, some falling into the fort. One shell killed the English officer, Hay, who was a prisoner, and several French officers, while they were at breakfast. This decided the matter. Vergor sent an officer to Moncton asking for a suspension of hostilities. That afternoon the following terms of surrender were agreed upon:

"1st. The commandant, officers, staff and others employed for the King and garrison of Beausejour, shall go out with arms and baggage, drums beating.

2nd. The garrison shall be sent to Louisburg at the expense of the King of Great Britain. 3rd. The Governor shall have provisions sufficient to last them until they get to Louisburg. 4th. As to the Acadians, as they were forced to bear arms under pain of death, they shall be pardoned. 5th. The garrison shall not bear arms in America for the space of six months. 6th. The foregoing are granted on condition that the garrison shall surrender to the troops of Great Britain by 7 p. m. this afternoon. Signed, Robert Moncton. At the camp Beausejour, 16th June, 1755."

As soon as the British were in possession at Beausejour, Monckton sent a detachment of three hundred men, under Col. Winslow, to demand the surrender of the fort at Bay Verte. Capt. Villeray accepted the same terms as De Vergor, and on the 18th of June, 1755, the isthmus passed forever out of the possession of the King of France. A large amount of supplies was found in both forts.

Le Loutre fled before the final surrender, making his escape in disguise. He managed to reach Bay Verte where he joined Manach, a brother missionary. They made their way to Quebec where after some delay Le Loutre embarked for France. The vessel in which he sailed was captured by an English frigate. Le Loutre was obliged to spend eight years in prison on the Isle of Guernsey.

Two years after the fall of Fort Beausejour de Vergor was court martialed for the inefficiency of his defense, but secured an acquittal, owing, it is contended by some to favoritism on the part of the managers of the court.

According to the terms of the capitulation the Beausejour prisoners were to be sent to Louisburg. An exception was made in the case of Pichon who, for an obvious reason, was allowed to substitute Halifax for Louisburg. From Halifax Pichon proceeded to England where he resided until his death in 1781. Under the name of Tyrrell he devoted himself extensively to literary pursuits, though much of his writing did not get beyond the manuscript stage. His best work is said to have been his "Memories of Cape Breton" which, though not exactly true to its title, is "a curious and instructive book" according to Brown's History of Cape Breton. In 1752 Count Raymond sent a party of officers to survey the coast of the

island and collect statistical information. Pichon accompanied the expedition. The following extract from his "Memoirs" as summarized by Brown, gives an interesting view of the Cape Breton of 1750.

Leaving Louisburg early in February the party traveled along the coast to Gabarus and Fourché, where they found a few inhabitants engaged in the cod fishery. At the latter place there was a large settlement before the last war, when all the buildings were burned by the English, except a large storehouse, which was still standing. From Fourché they went to St. Esprit, which they found was, 'notwithstanding all that it had suffered during the late war, recovering itself apace.' They next reached L'Ardoise, 'where there is a slate quarry, from which it takes its name.' Between Louisburg and St. Peter's they found only 180 inhabitants, some of whom lived very comfortably, and others indifferently; but they fare best towards Gabarus, where there is plenty of game, and where the wood-cocks (partridges) are so extremely tame that you may knock them down with stones.' Pichon justly speaks in terms of admiration of the natural features of Port Toulouse (St. Peters). He found here 230 inhabitants, 'exclusive of the king's officers and troops, chiefly employed in summer in building boats and small vessels, and in winter cutting firewood and timber.' He says 'they were very industrious people; tilled the earth, and kept a sufficient quantity of cattle and poultry, which they sold at Louisburg. They were the first that brewed an excellent sort of antiscorbutic of the tops of the spruce fir¹; and they had a number of maple trees from which they extracted a sap in the Spring, 'most agreeable to the taste, of the colour of Spanish wine, good for the breast, a prevention against the stone, and no way hurtful to the stomach. They boil it and make sugar from it.'

St. Peter's was at that time a place of much importance as it was thither 'the savages of Cape Breton and Acadia brought all the furs to exchange them for European commodities.' He considers St. Peter's a valuable military post, 'being so near to the "island of the Holy Family," in the Labrador, where almost all the savages live in a body with their missionary, and within easy distance of the

settlements of Madame, Petit de Grat, Ardoise, St. Esprit, and the River Inhabitants. At the least appearance of danger, all these people, collected in a body, would make a small army, and with the assistance of a few fortifications render St. Peter's impregnable.' They found only 113 inhabitants at Descourse and upon the islands in the passage, 'who live as well as they can; that is, being greatly straitened by the barrenness of the soil, they subsist by means of a little commerce. Some maintain themselves by fishing and hunting; others by cruising winter and summer, and cutting wood for firing, which they sell for five livres the cord along the coast. The few horned cattle they are able to maintain are likewise a considerable relief to them; in short, their distress was so great as to excite our compassion. We quitted this country without any other regret than that of leaving such miserable people behind us.' At Petit de Grat and Grand Nerica (Arichat) they found thriving settlements of fishermen, the population of the two places being 137. After visiting River Inhabitants, where about thirty persons were settled, mostly engaged in raising cattle, and in sawing boards at a mill which they had constructed, the party returned to Louisbourg. The same party then visited Baleine, Menadou, Scatari, the Bay of Morienne (Cow Bay), and L'Indienne (Lingan) and found a few inhabitants at each of these places. Pichon says the coal pit that the English had opened at Burnt Head 'took fire in the summer of 1752, and entirely consumed the fort.' Traces of this fire may still be seen along the outcrop of the seam, as far as Little Glace Bay. At Baie des Espagnols some Acadians had settled and begun to clear the land. He says there were beds of limestone and building stone on the banks of the river, and two coal pits. From thence the party visited the two entrances of the Labrador, 'which are separated by the island of Verderonne, which belongs to M. le Poupet de la Boulardrie.' There was a considerable number of settlers upon the Little Entrance of Labrador. Ruins of their old homesteads may still be seen at many places in the woods on both sides of the strait, and a large burying-ground on the northern shore, where, a few years ago, the sites of the graves, designated by wooden crosses, were covered by dense growths of spruce trees. Pichon says the Labrador was

the most populous part of the island. An extensive cod fishery was carried on at Niganiche, but the vessels 'were obliged by the king's ordinance to retire to Port Dauphin (St. Anne's) towards the 15th of August, because of the storms that rage in that season.' He says, 'Sometimes you see 150 boats employed in this business at Niganiche.' There were at this time very few inhabitants at Niganiche, and none whatever between that place and Just'au Corps (Port Hood). 'These places were hardly at all frequented.' The total population of Cape Breton, according to Rameau, in 1752, was 4,125 of which 2,484 resided in Louisburg and its environs; the remainder in other parts of the island."

Fort Lawrence, much inferior both in location and structure to Fort Beauséjour, was now abandoned, and the latter, thenceforth to be known as Fort Cumberland, became the British headquarters on the Isthmus. On the breezy heights, the victorious troops, both the regulars under Moncton and the Colonials under Winslow and Scott, spent the month of July most pleasantly.

Early in August, Winslow had imparted to him by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Moncton, some rather startling information: "The said Moncton was so free as to acquaint me that it was determined to remove all the French inhabitants out of the province; that he would send for all the adult males from Tantre-mar, Chipody, Aulac, Beauséjour, and Bay Verte, to read the Governor's orders, and when that was done, it was determined to retain them all as prisoners in the fort. This is the first conference of a public nature I have had with the Colonel since the reduction of Beauséjour, and I apprehend that no officer of either corps has been made more free with." In close connection with the foregoing extract from Winslow's diary, is to be read the following which appears under date of August 11th. "This day was one extraordinary to the inhabitants of Tantramar, Oueskak (Westcock), Aulac, Baye Verte, Beausejour and places adjacent. The male inhabitants or principal of them, being collected together in Fort Cumberland to hear the sentence which determined their property from the Governor and Council, of Halifax; which was that they were declared rebels, their lands, goods and chattels forfeited to the crown, and their

bodies imprisoned, upon which the gates of the fort were shut and they all confined, to the amount of 400 men." Notice should be taken of the date of this entry, August 11th, 1755. It is sometimes argued that the news of Braddock's defeat in Pennsylvania, which tidings did not reach Halifax till August 7th, was one of the chief provocations of the Acadian Expulsion.

Attention may be directed to the course of events in Halifax during this summer, while so much has been going on in Chignecto. Signs had not been wanting from the very beginning of Lawrence's official rule that he was prepared to embrace every opportunity to press the matter of an unconditional oath to a definite issue, and in default of acceptance of such a symbol of allegiance by the Acadians to rid the province somehow of their presence.

SIEGE OF BEAUSEJOUR.

On the 4th of June—the siege of Fort Beauséjour was then just beginning—orders were issued that the Acadians of the Peninsula should surrender their arms on penalty of being declared rebels. On the 10th the people of Minas, Pisiquid, and Canard, memorialised the Governor and Council, protesting against the order and entering upon a somewhat wide discussion of the general relations of the Acadians to the government. When the day appointed for the delivering up of the guns arrived, in absence of any reply to their memorial, the Acadians of the districts named made due surrender at Fort Edward of the asked for weapons. According to Judge DesChamps, as quoted in the Brown papers, the number of the guns handed in was no less than two thousand nine hundred. Haliburton, commenting on the incident, observes that "these orders were complied with in a manner which might certainly have convinced the government that the Acadians had no serious intention of any insurrection, but as Papists and Frenchmen, their submission never gained much credit with their Protestant and English masters by whom they were both hated and feared."

The original memorial protesting against the order to deliver

their guns and sent in prior to the date for the execution of the order, was deemed by the council to be impertinent in its tone as well as in its matter. It may be admitted that the views and wishes of the simple-minded people who wished to retain their guns were expressed by the framer of the memorial with unnecessary elaboration. Having learned that their memorial in its original form was deemed objectionable, the parties concerned made an humble apology for having inadvertently given offence, and represented that to show any want of respect to the government was entirely contrary to their intention. "If there is anything hard in the said petition, we beg your Excellency to do us the favor of allowing us to explain our intention."

In accordance with this request delegates from the districts interested were honored with an interview by the Council. Lawrence tore the unfortunate memorial to tatters in fine style. As a whole it was in the opinion of the Council "highly arrogant and insidious, and deserved the highest resentment." The memorialists had prayed as a ground for asking the favor of retaining their guns "that their past conduct might be considered." This, Lawrence assured them, the Council had done, but had been led to conclusions quite different from those embodied in the memorial. The paragraph which especially moved the choler of Lawrence and his Councillors was the following: "Besides the arms we carry are a feeble surety for our fidelity. It is not a gun that an inhabitant possesses, which will lead him to revolt, nor the depriving him of that gun that will make him more faithful, but his conscience alone ought to engage him to maintain his oath." The idea of some humble peasants on the Gaspecan and St. Croix undertaking to expound the nature of fidelity to a Governor and Council was the very acme of presumption. If they were as loyal as they proposed to be, instead of seeking to retain their arms, they would be glad to hand them over when demanded for His Majesty's service.

Then came up the inevitable test question of the oath. The delegates were asked if they were prepared to swear full and unconditional allegiance to the British Crown. "They desired that they might return home and consult the body of the people upon this sub-

ject, as they could not do otherwise than the generality of the inhabitants should determine, for that they were desirous of either refusing or accepting the oath in a body, and could not possibly determine till they knew the sentiments of their constituents." Adhering to this view, when called before the Council the following day, they were informed that they were no longer looked upon as British subjects, and would hereafter be treated as subjects of the King of France. In accordance with this view they were imprisoned.

This scene was substantially re-enacted with the deputies who came from Annapolis, and with the duly chosen delegates from Minas, Pisiquid, and Canard. In all cases there was a peremptory refusal to take the oath, followed by summary commitment to jail.

FIRST DECISION TO DEPORT ACADIANS.

Deportation had been a foregone conclusion with Lawrence from the moment of his accession to office. Just when the Council in its regular membership first decided to take action is not known to a day. We do know that on the 15th of July, at a meeting of the Council, to which, Admiral Boscawen and Vice-Admiral Mostyn were officially invited—the record is a brief one—"The lieutenant-governor laid before the admirals the late proceedings of the Council in regard to the French inhabitants and desired their advice and opinion thereon. Both the same admirals approved of the same proceedings and gave it as their opinion that it was now the proper time to oblige the said inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty or to quit the country."

It was likewise resolved to retain in pay the 2,000 New England troops under Moncton at Chignecto.

At a later meeting of the Council on July 28th, the mode in which its general policy on the subject was to be carried out was definitely fixed on, namely, to distribute the Acadians among the several colonies. To that end vessels were to be hired with all possible expedition. On the 31st of July, Lawrence communicated the resolution to Moncton and gave instruction for his guidance in the following letter:

"The success which has attended His Majesty's arms in driving the French from the encroachments they had made in this Province, presented me with favorable opportunity of reducing the French inhabitants of this colony to a proper obedience to His Majesty's government, or forcing them to quit the country. These inhabitants were permitted to remain in quiet possession of their lands upon condition they would take the oath of allegiance to the King within one year after the Treaty of Utrecht, by which this Province was ceded to Great Britain. With this condition they have refused to comply without having at the same time from the Governor an assurance in writing that they should not be called upon to bear arms in defence of the Province, and with this General Phillips did comply, of which step His Majesty disapproved; and the inhabitants pretending therefrom to be in a state of neutrality between His Majesty and his enemies, have continually furnished the French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions and assistance in annoying the Government, and while one part have abetted the French encroachments by their treachery, the other have countenanced them by open rebellion, and three hundred of them were actually found in arms in the French fort at Beauséjour when it surrendered.

"Notwithstanding all their former bad behaviour, as His Majesty was pleased to allow me to extend still further his royal grace to such as would return to their duty, I offered such of them as had not been openly in arms against us a continuance of the possession of their lands, if they would take the oath of allegiance unqualified with any reservation whatsoever; but this they have most audaciously as well as unanimously refused, and if they would presume to do this when there is a large fleet of ships of war in the harbor and a considerable land force in the Province, what might we not expect from them when the approaching winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops, which are only hired from New England occasionally and for a small time, have returned home?

"As by this behaviour the inhabitants have forfeited all title to their lands and any further favor from the Government, I called together His Majesty's Council, at which the Hon. Vice-Admiral Boscawen and Rear Admiral Mostyn assisted, to consider by what means

we could with the greatest security and effect rid ourselves of a set of people who would forever have been in obstruction to the intention of settling this colony, and that it was now from their refusal of the oath, absolutely incumbent on us to remove.

"As their numbers amount to near seven thousand persons, the driving them off, with leave to go whither they pleased, would have doubtless strengthened Canada with so considerable a number of inhabitants, and as, they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as are able to bear arms must have been immediately employed in annoying this and the neighboring colonies. To prevent such an inconvenience it was judged a necessary and the only practicable measure to divide them among the colonies, where they may be of some use, as most of them are healthy, strong people; and as they cannot easily collect themselves together again, it will be out of their power to do any mischief, and they may become profitable and, it is possible, in time, faithful subjects.

"As this step was indispensably necessary to the security of this colony, upon whose preservation from French encroachments the prosperity of North America is esteemed in a great measure dependent, I have not the least reason to doubt of your Excellency's concurrence, and that you will receive the inhabitants I now send, and dispose of them in such manner as may best answer our design in preventing their reunion."

"The Deputies of the Acadians of the Districts of Annapolis, Minas and Piguit, have been called before the Council and have refused to take the oath of allegiance, whereupon, the Council advised and it is accordingly determined that they shall be removed out of the county, as soon as possible, and, as to those about Beauséjour who were in arms and therefore entitled to no favor, it is determined to begin with them first; and, for this purpose, orders are given for a sufficient number of transports to be sent up the bay with all possible dispatch for taking them on board, by whom you will receive particular instructions as to the manner of their being disposed of, the places of their destination, and every other thing necessary for that purpose.

"In the meantime, it will be necessary to keep this measure as

secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape, as to carry off cattle, etc., and the better to effect this you will endeavor to fall upon some strategem to get the men, both young and old,—specially the heads of families—into your power, and detain them until the transports shall arrive, so as they may be ready to be shipped off; for, WHEN THIS IS DONE, it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and carry off the cattle. But, lest they should, it will not only be very proper to secure all their shallops, boats, canoes, and every other vessel you can lay your hands upon; but also to send out parties to all suspected roads and places from time to time, that they may be thereby intercepted. As their whole stock of cattle and corn is forfeited to the Crown by their rebellion, and must be secured and applied towards a reimbursement of the expense the Government will be at, in transporting them out of the country, care must be had that nobody make any bargain for purchasing them under any colour or pretense whatever; if they do the sale will be void, for the inhabitants have now no property in them, nor will they be allowed to carry away the least thing but their ready money and household furniture.

“The officers commanding the Fort at Pigiguit and the garrison of Annapolis have nearly the same orders in relation to the inhabitants of the Peninsula. But I am informed those will fall upon the ways and means, in spite of all our vigilance to send off their cattle to the island of St. Johns (Prince Edward Island) and Louisburg (which is now in a starving condition) by way of Tattamagouche. I would, therefore, have you, without loss of time, send thither a pretty strong detachment to beat up that quarter and prevent them. You cannot want a guide for conducting the party, as there is not an Acadian at Beauséjour but most perfectly know the road.

“When Beausoleil’s son arrives, if he brings you no intelligence which you can trust to, of what the French design to do or are doing up the St. John river, I would have you fall upon some method of procuring the best intelligence by means of some Acadians you dare venture to put confidence in, whom you may send thither for that purpose.

"As to the provisions that were found in the stores of Beauséjour, 16,832 barrels of flour must be applied to victual the whole of the Acadians on their passage to their place of destination, and, if any remain, after a proper proportion is put on board each transport, it will be sent to Lunenburg for the settlers there.

"It is agreed that the Acadians will have sent on board with them one pound of flour and half a pound of bread per day for each person, and a pound of beef per week to each, the bread and beef will be sent to you by the transports from Halifax; the flour you have already in store.

"I would have you give orders to the Detachment you send to Tatmagouche, to demolish all the houses, etc., etc., they find there, together with all the shallops, boats, canoes or vessels of any kind which may be lying ready for carrying off the inhabitants and their cattle, and by these means the pernicious intercourse between St. John's Island and Louisburg and the inhabitants of the interior part of the country, will in a great measure be prevented."

Morris, the Provincial Surveyor, was asked by Lawrence to prepare a report on the best method of effecting the removal of the Acadians. The paper submitted by Morris in response to the request is a curious proclamation.

SCHEME TO DECEIVE THE ACADIANS.

After suggesting all sorts of schemes to deceive and mislead the unfortunate victims of the edict of expulsion, it recommends with special emphasis the plan actually adopted, namely, to send detachments of troops to imprison the people, after that on one pretense or other they had been collected in a body:

"The number of men necessary to remove the Acadians, and the places to post them will depend much on their behaviour, and it will much facilitate their readiness to go, if a persuasion could obtain among them that they are to be removed to Canada, could it be propagated by common report, for it is natural to think they will be unwilling to quit their possessions, and to offer themselves voluntarily

to be transported they know not whither. I apprehend such a persuasion would greatly facilitate the enterprise. If they can possibly be persuaded to surrender themselves voluntarily, or if they can be apprehended by any stratagem. The rest might submit willingly; but, if they prove obstinate, and take to the woods, and take up arms, it will require the whole force of the Colony to subdue them.

"If strong detachments were placed in the villages of Grand Pre, Pigiguit and Canard, at a certain day, they might be all summoned to attend, and then seize on all those that attend; or whether to invest their churches on a Sunday to be agreed on, and to seize on all present; or whether to invest their villages in the night, and seize them in bed; their living in such scattering situation will render this difficult; a number of whaleboats would be absolutely necessary if this were concluded on, to seize all those contiguous to the Basin, which would be best stationed at Grand Pre, as being near the center of the settlements from whence they may be sent out.

"In shore it is difficult to conjecture how it may be accomplished, but the circumstances as they rise, will afford the best information of the most effectual methods of dealing with them. Happy would it be, if they, in general, come in of their own accord.

"Is it not possible to employ some person who can be confided in, who has been among them, to sound their present disposition and intention, and from thence to take measures accordingly?"

Winslow had never been at Grand Pre before and was much struck with the fertility of the soil and the beauty of the scenery. He sent one of his captains to survey the valleys of the Riviere aux Canards and the River des Habitants.

"Adams reported that it was a fine country, and full of people; a beautiful church, abundance of the goods of this world, and provisions of all kinds and great plenty." Equally favorable accounts were brought in by parties sent to reconnoitre the Gaspercan and Pisiquid districts. On September 4th, the morrow, the 5th, was the fateful day of doom—Murray wrote from Pisiquid, "All the people quiet, and very busy at their harvest; if this day keeps fair, all will be in

their barns. "I hope tomorrow will crown all our wishes." Winslow, who was by no means cruel and vindictive by nature, was more apprehensive as to that same tomorrow. He was plainly haunted by anxious thoughts: "Things are now very heavy on my head and heart. I impatiently wait that once at length we may get over this troublesome affair, what is more grievous to me than any service I was ever engaged in." This feeling of apprehension finds further expression: "Shall soon have our hands full of the disagreeable business to remove them from their ancient habitations, which in this part of the country are very valuable." As they "thought of the morrow," the Acadians of Grand Pré and the surrounding country were undoubtedly as apprehensive and troubled in mind as Winslow.

During the early hours of the 5th the stillness of death lay over the whole country side. With so much uncertainty in the air, all ordinary work was suspended. As the day had come and the hour was close at hand, Colonel Winslow's heart was naturally throbbing with anxiety. Perhaps after all the people will not obey the order to assemble. He became nervous and fidgety. Richard's picture is no doubt true to life: "His anxious eyes often scanned the dusty roads ending at Grand Pré. Soon at intervals, he espied far off clouds of dust. People on foot were slowly wending their way from the rivers Perreau, des Habitants, Canard, and Gaspereau; the numbers were increasing; they all passed before the church, casting anxious looks on the public square covered with tents and soldiers; then the village was full; the new comers had scattered in groups, in the houses, on the doorsteps, along the fences. All these groups were grave and almost silent. They exchanged a few words on the weather, the harvest, absent friends, or on indifferent subjects; but minds were busy with other thoughts; concern was to be read on every face; men involuntarily looked in the direction of the Church and the Presbytery; but as often happens on such sad and solemn occasions it was the object of the meeting that they spoke least of. People leaned forward to hear an opinion; there was a questioning look in their eyes."

COL. WINSLOW READS DOCUMENT OF DOOM.

Three o'clock came. Colonel John Winslow, suppressing all outward signs of anxiety and trepidation, dressed in his quaint colonial regimentals, and surrounded by his staff, entered the church and took the seat prepared for him in the central aisle. There stood, or sat, or knelt before him no less than four hundred and eighteen men and boys—those composing the latter being over ten years old. Clearing his throat, Winslow proceeded to read as follows.

"Gentlemen: I have received from His Excellency, Governor Lawrence, the King's instructions, which I have in my hand. By his orders you are called together to hear His Majesty's final resolution concerning the French inhabitants of this Province of Nova Scotia, who for more than half a century have had more indulgence granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions. What use you have made of it, you yourselves best know.

"The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species. But it is not my business to animadvert on the orders I have received, but to obey them; and therefore, without hesitation, I shall deliver to you His Majesty's instructions and commands, which are, that your lands and tenements and cattle and live stock of all kinds are forfeited to the crown, with all your other effects, except money and household goods, and that you yourselves are to be removed from this his Province.

"The peremptory orders of His Majesty are, that all the French inhabitants of these Districts be removed, and, through His Majesty's goodness, I am directed to allow you your money and as many of your household goods as you can take without overloading the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all these goods be secured to you, and that you be not molested in carrying them away, and also that whole families shall go in the same vessel; so that this removal, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, may be made as easy as His Majesty's service will admit;

and I hope that in whatever part of the world your lot may fall, you may be faithful subjects, and a peaceable and happy people.

"I must also inform you that it is His Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honor to command."

Lawrence having announced his determination "to bring the inhabitants to compliance, or rid the province of such perfidious subjects," and having failed in the former, nothing was left for the unfortunate folk but deportation. What measures should be resorted to was the only remaining question. The course finally adopted was to distribute the deported among the various provinces, and the following circular letter was sent to each of the governors conveying information as to how Nova Scotia proposed to settle her long standing difficulty of dual allegiance. The Provincial agents in Boston were instructed to charter transports for the conveyance of the exiles.

The oversight and general management of the deportation was entrusted to General Moncton at Chignecto, to Colonel John Winslow at Grand Pre, to Mayor Handly at Annapolis, and to Captain Alexander Murray at Piquid. Of the details of the melancholy procedure at these several points, if Grand Pre be excepted, we know little or nothing. Second only to the influence of *Evangeline* has been that of John Winslow's ill-spelt journal in immortalizing Grand Pre. It is a sad, sad story which is told. Winslow, though not a man of delicate sensitive fibre, was nevertheless not as, has been pointed out, a cruel and hard-hearted one. But it would be almost impossible to conceive of harsher orders than those which he was called to execute. "You must proceed," Lawrence enjoined upon him, "by the most rigorous measures possible, not only in compelling them to embark, but in depriving those who shall escape of all means of shelter or support by burning their houses and destroying everything that may afford them the means of subsistence in the country." Winslow also preserves for us even harsher instructions given by Governor Lawrence to Captain Murray at Piquid:

"If these people behave amiss, they should be punished at your discretion; and if any attempt to molest the troops, you shall take

an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; and, in short, life for life, from the nearest neighbor where the mischief shall be performed!"

Winslow was at Beauséjour when he received orders to undertake this special duty at Grand Pré. Taking with him three hundred men of his regiment, he sailed first to Piquid, to confer—according to instructions from Lawrence—with Murray as to the details of the proposed transportation. Proceeding to Grand Pré he made the Church an arsenal and took up his own residence in the Presbytery. In a few days he paid Murray a visit, that they might prepare a common proclamation, that would bring the people together without frightening them unduly. The following concoction is clear enough as to the summons to attend a meeting at a certain place, on a certain day, and at a certain hour; otherwise it is vagueness itself.

"To the inhabitants of the District of Grand Pré, Minas, river Canard and places adjacent, as well ancients as young men and lads.

Whereas, His Excellency the Governor, has instructed us of his late resolution respecting the matter proposed to the inhabitants, and has ordered us to communicate the same in person, His Excellency being desirous that each of them should be satisfied of His Majesty's intentions, which he has also ordered us to communicate to you, as they have been given to him: We, therefore, order and strictly by these presents, all of the inhabitants as well of the above-named District as of all the other Districts, both old and young men, as well as the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the church of Grand Pré on Friday, the 5th instant, at three of the clock in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them; declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pretence whatsoever on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate.

"Given at Grand Pré, 2nd Sept., 1755.

"John Winslow."

The process of embarkation at Minas was a long drawn out affair. The first vessels did not get away until the 8th of October. The last two did not sail until the 10th of December. On the latter day,

Winslow, who was at Halifax conferring with Governor Lawrence on some matter connected with his regiment, received the following letter written from Grand Pre by Captain Phineas Osgood:

"Sir;

This serves to inform you that the French which you left under my Care are all removed. The last of them Sailed this afternoon, in Two Schooners, Viz: The Race Horse, John Banks, Manager, with one Hundred and Twenty persons, Ranger, Nathan Monrow, Manager, with one Hundred and Twelve persons. Banks for Boston, Monrow for Virginia. They all appeared without great difficulty according to the Number given by Monsieur Landree and we Embarked them with as much of their Effects as I Could. There is a Considerable Quantity of Provisions left of Pork, Beef, Mutton and Bread. We have with us Mr. Proctor an Agent of Mr. Sauls who is to take Care of the Cattle & Provisions left behind by the French. He designs to keep his Store within the Garrison & Feed us with the Small young Cattle and keep Two Hundred of the largest Bullocks till the Spring. But he must find his Mistake for here is not a Sufficiency of Fodder to keep that Number. There is not many Cattle here fit for humane Creatures to Eat. I Wrote you the other Day of the removal of Part of the French and Something of the State of the Party. The greater part of the Sick are recovering tho some now are extremely Ill. Mr. Tyler is quite out of Medicine tho he informs me he has Wrote to Doctr. Whitworth and expects a Supply by the First opportunity. I am Sir your most obedient Humble Servant.

Grand Pre, Decr. 20, 1755.

Phins Osgood."

To Col. John Winslow.

From the 10th of September until the time of the first sailing (October 8th) two hundred and fifty of the prisoners—half youths, half married men—in squads of fifty, were placed on board the five transports which had already arrived from Boston. This action was taken, Winslow informs us, because "the French this morning discovered some uncommon motions among themselves which I did not like." The Colonel felt bound to nip evil in the bud.

"I then ordered Capt. Adams with a Lieut. and 80 non commission officers and private men to draw off from the main body to guard the young men of the French amounting to 141 men to the transports and order the prisoners to march. They all answered they would not go without their fathers. I told them that was a word I did not understand for that the King's command was to me absolute and should be absolutely obeyed and that I did not love to use harsh means but the time did not admit of parlies or delays and then ordered the whole troops to fix their bayonets and advance towards the French, and bid the four right hand files of the prisoners consisting of 24 men which I told off myself to divide from the rest, one of whom I took hold on (who opposed the marching) and bid march. He obeyed and the rest followed, though slowly, and went off praying, singing and crying being met by the women and children all the way (which is one and one-half miles) with great lamentations upon their knees praying, etc."

Colonel Winslow showed that he was a kind hearted man after all, for he offered these naval prisoners their choice to receive daily rations at the King's expense, or to be waited on by their own families. The latter alternative they of course preferred, and due provision was made for conveying to them the home made delicacies.

On the 8th of October the memorable embarkation began. Here is Winslow's account of the opening act of the drama:

ACCOUNT OF THE EMBARKATION.

"October 8th. began to Embarke the Inhabitants who went of Very Solentarily and unwillingly, the women in Great Distress Carry- ing off Their Children In their arms. Others Carrying their Decript Parents in their Carts and all their Goods Moving in Great Confusion & appeared a Scenen of woe & Distres. Fild up Church & Mil- burry, with about Eighty Familys, and also made the Strickest En- quiry I Could how those yound men made their Escape yesterday, and by Every Circumstance Found one Francis Hebert was Either the Contriver or abetter who was on Board Church & this Day his

Effects Shipt who I ordered a Short, Carryd to his own house & Then in his Presence Burnt both his house and Barne, and Gave Notice to all the French that in Case these men Did not Surrender them Selves in Two Days, I Should Serve all their Frinds in the Same Maner & and not only So would Confiscate their Household Goods and when Ever those men Should Fall Onto the English hands they would not be admitted to Quarter, as the whole French Inhabitants in these Districts became obligated to me, that if their Several Frinds might be admitted to Carry them Provissons on Board & to Visit them they would be responsible to Each Other. Orders of the Day. Paroll Landree."

JOHN WINSLOW

So far as human inhabitants were concerned, Winslow made a clean sweep of the territory which he had been commissioned to clear. It is not known that a living soul escaped deportation. Even René Le Blanc, notary, patriarch, and oracle of Grand Pre, who as a recompense for his fidelity to England, had spent four years in Indian captivity, was forced into exile with the rest. Then in pursuance of the stern orders of Lawrence, the torch of the incendiary was brought into requisition, and the whole stretch of fine country between the Gaspereau and Blomidon was made as bare of houses and churches, barns and mills, as of people.

In the Pisiquid district Murray acted with equal vigor and equal completeness of result.

The dreary work of expatriation was accomplished less successfully at Annapolis by Mayor Handfield. The plan of summoning the people to a central point was exchanged for an attempt to round them up by a military cordon. Many escaped to the forest-clad mountains so that, as late as the following February, Lawrence informed Shirley that about five hundred of the inhabitants were still lurking about the woods.

In Chignecto, General Moncton had to content himself with the prisoners—in the neighborhood of a thousand—obtained at the fort and picked up in the adjacent villages. Lieut. Frye with a sloop and a schooner was sent to deal with Shepody and the settlements on the

Petitecodiac River. At Shepody, the inhabitants with the exception of a few women and children, had found it convenient to take refuge in the adjacent forests, which at this point stretched from the Bay of Fundy to the St. Lawrence. The women and children having been impounded as prisoners on the lieutenant's vessel, Shepody was burnt to the ground. With great exactitude the number of buildings destroyed is given as one hundred and eighty-one. Then the expedition made a cruise of the Petitecodiac, ascending as far as the Bend, the site of the present city of Moncton. No prisoners were taken, but they laid all the buildings in ashes for fifteen miles on one side of the river and six miles on the other. At one point the company, which had landed to set fire to a settlement, was surprised by a band of Indians and before retreat could be had to the vessel which had drifted along with the tide, lost two officers and five or six privates.

An attempt was also made to secure for deportation the people of Cobequid. As at Chignecto there was a miscarriage. The majority of the inhabitants fled to the densely wooded mountain passes and effected a hazardous escape to the French islands of Royale and St. Jean. The inhabitants of the smaller and remoter settlements of the Peninsula were immediately proscribed; soon, most of them had left the country by flight or actual seizure and deportation. One case of the latter kind, to which considerable historic interest attaches, did not occur until three years after the general expulsion. It may be briefly epitomized here.

At the time of the expulsion, there was a small, but from a business point of view quite influential Acadian settlement at Penobscot (Pubnico) twelve miles from Cape Sable. It was on land granted in 1653 by Charles Le Tour to Philippe Mius, *Sieur. D'Entremont*. The community at Pombcoup lived a life of its own. Its trade affiliations were altogether with Boston, where the mercantile reputation of Pombcoup stood high. It was small, but prosperous, self-contained and independent. The English Governors at Annapolis did not concern themselves with its affairs. In the almost chronic wrangles between those gentlemen and the deputies of the Bay of Fundy settlements, Pombcoup took no part whatever.

After the general clearing out of 1755, Governor Lawrence in

some way learned of the existence of this isolated place, where his writ of extermination had not taken effect. So when the New England troops which had remained at Beauséjour during the winter of 1755-56, were returning to Boston in the spring (April, 1756), the Governor determined on "ridding the Province of this pernicious enemy," issued "necessary orders" to Major Jedediah Preble to call at Pombcoup on his way home, arrest the inhabitants, put them on ship board, and convey them to Boston. The necessary orders read thus: "Whereas orders were accordingly issued for the removal of the said inhabitants (Acadians) notwithstanding which, I have been informed that some of them do still remain in different parts of the Province particularly at Cape Sable and places round about. You are therefore hereby required and directed to put into Cape Sable, or some of the adjacent harbors on your way to Boston, and with the troops under your command, to land at the most convenient place, and seize as many of the said inhabitants as possible, and to carry them with you to Boston, where you will deliver them to His Excellency Governor Shirley with a letter you will receive with this order. You are at all events to burn and destroy the houses of the said inhabitants and take their utensils and cattle of all kinds, and make a distribution of them to the troops under your command as a reward for the performance of their services, and to destroy such things as cannot be conveniently carried off." Major Preble did not see fit to obey this drastic, not to say disagreeable order. But Lawrence was not to be foiled. In August, 1758, four hundred soldiers of the 35th British regiment, attacked and destroyed the settlement, and took the Parish clergyman and one hundred and forty of his flock to Halifax where they were imprisoned on George's Island. Some of the Pubnico settlers who managed to escape this deportation appealed to Governor Powell of Massachusetts for intervention in their behalf, asking as a primary favor that they should be permitted to remain in their old home; or if that be inadmissible that they should be allowed to settle in New England, where they would be willing to pay taxes and help to maintain the war against France. Their appeal concluded: "Dear Sirs, do for us what lies in your power to settle us here, and we will be your faithful subjects till

death." Governor Powell's view of the situation is indicated in a letter (July 2nd, 1759), to Governor Lawrence as follows: "As for the case of the poor people at Sable Island, it seems very distressful and worthy any relief that can be afforded them. If policy could acquiesce in any measure for their relief, humanity loudly calls for it. I send you a copy of the petition and also a copy of the journal of Council. You will see that General Amherst was willing to relieve them, could it have been done here. But by the same you will see that he could by no means advise me to receive them." The following November (1759) Lawrence writes to the Right Honorable William Pitt: "Sir, in the beginning of last Spring, part of the French inhabitants of Cape Sable, who had done so much mischief, finding themselves distressed, deputed some of them to come with offers of surrender, to be disposed of at His Majesty's pleasure. Accordingly, I despatched as early as I could the Province armed vessel to Cape Sable where they took one hundred and fifty-two persons, men, women and children, and they arrived here. I ordered them to be landed on George's Island as being the place of the most security.

On my application to Admiral Saunders, he ordered an empty transport to call here, on board of which are embarked one hundred and fifty persons, to proceed to England under convoy of His Majesty's ship *Sutherland*, and there receiving such orders as your Excellency might think proper." Here the history of these unfortunate exiles ends. What disposal was made of them in England—assuming that the ocean voyage was safely accomplished—is not on record. Pitt could have afforded to be magnanimous. Seven weeks before Lawrence's letter, with its disgraceful misrepresentations, was written, Wolfe had decided the fate of North America at Quebec.

GOV. LAWRENCE BACK OF THE EXPULSION.

Passing from the deportation as an historical occurrence or material fact to a consideration of its intrinsic character in respect to justice, equity and humanity. It is pertinent to enquire with whom this scheme originated and under what authority carried into execution. A not uncommon view taken is that it was a means of national

safety, reluctantly resorted to by England in a grave crisis of affairs. As a matter of fact the measure was devised by Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, his Councillors and advisers and carried into execution by his agents before the English Government had any knowledge of the project. The proof on this point is absolutely conclusive, as is also that in support of the statement that Lawrence took such action when he had every reason to believe that it ran counter to the views and wishes of his official superiors in England.

The proof on both these points is absolutely conclusive. On the 28th of June, 1755, ten days or so after the evacuation of Beauséjour, Lawrence announced that event to the Lords of Trade, adding: "The deserted Acadians are delivering up their arms. I have given him (Moncton) orders to drive them out of the country at all events, though, if he wants their assistance in putting the troops under cover, he may first make them do all the service in their power."

The ambiguous character of this passage is obvious. Whether it meant, to expel all the Acadians who were in the villages North of the Isthmus or the Acadian refugees who had been induced by La Loutre to withdraw from the Peninsula or merely the 300 Acadians found in arms at Beauséjour on its surrender is not clear. On the whole, the most natural interpretation would seem to be that he referred to the refugees from the South. The reply of the Secretary of State, dated August 13th, showed that Lawrence referred to orders given General Moncton to drive the Acadians, wherever they found them, out of the country had filled the Lords of Trade with great anxiety and alarm. This letter was written in the name of the Secretary of State himself. To make its points more emphatic the essential passages were underscored. This letter, bear in mind, was written August the 13th, 1755, and on July 14th, a meeting of the Council was held at which Admiral Boscawen and Vice-Admiral Mostyn being present and Chief Justice Belcher's opinions having been read and duly considered, the fateful decision was reached to expel all who passed under the name of Acadians in the Peninsula and elsewhere.

The Secretary of State strongly condemns the expulsion of the 300 found in arms at Beauséjour.

The following extract from his letter: * * * "Whatever construction may be put upon the word *Pardonne* in the fourth article of the capitulation of Beauséjour, it is observed by your letter of the 28th of June, that you had given orders to Colonel Moncton to drive the deserted French inhabitants at all events out of the country. It does not clearly appear whether you mean to drive away all the Acadians of the Peninsula, which amount to many thousand, or such of them, as you say, as were living in the neighborhood of Beauséjour, or, lastly, whether you mean, only such as were found at Beauséjour, when evacuated by the garrison; the latter seems rather to have been your intention, as you add, that if M. Moncton wants the assistance of the deserted Acadians, in putting the troops under cover, he might first make them do all the service in their power. Let your intention have been what it will, it is not doubted but that you have considered the pernicious consequences that may arise from an alarm which may have been given to the whole body of the French Neutrals and how suddenly an insurrection may follow from despair, or what an additional number of useful subjects may be given by their flight to the French King. It cannot, therefore, be too much recommended to you, to use the greatest caution and prudence in your conduct towards these Neutrals, and to assure such of them, as may be trusted, specially upon their taking the oath, that they may remain in the quiet possession of their settlements under proper regulations. What has led me to a more particular notice of this part of your letter, is the following proposal, that was made no longer ago than in the month of May last by the French ambassador, viz: That all the French inhabitants of the Peninsula should have three years allowed them to remove from thence with their effects, and should be favoured with all means of facilitating their removal, which the English would, undoubtedly, look upon as advantageous to themselves. Whereupon, His Britannic Majesty was pleased to order an answer to be given, which I now send you for particular information in the following words, viz: In regard to the three years transmigration proposed for the Acadians of the Peninsula, it would be depriving Great Britain of a very considerable number of useful subjects, if such transmigration

should extend to those who were inhabitants there at the time of the treaty and to their descendants."

A month before the above letter was written, Lawrence had pronounced sentence against all who bore the Acadian name. The Governor did not reply to this letter until November 30th although on the 18th of October he wrote a brief and vague account of the deportation, representing that "we easily foresaw that driving them out by force to Canada would be attended with difficulty and would have reinforced those settlements with a very considerable body of men who were universally the most inveterate enemies of our religion. The only means preventing their return or their collecting elsewhere again into a large body was distributing them from Georgia to New England. The vessels were hired at the cheapest rate. In order to save as many of the Acadian-cattle as possible I have given some of them among such of the English settlers as have the means of feeding them."

The circumstances of the General Expulsion of 1755 as described by historians are largely colored by the sentiments entertained by the respective writers of the *per se* character of the transaction itself. Those who regard the deportation, as, if not an absolutely necessary, yet certainly an entirely justifiable, war measure have little fault to find with the special means provided for accomplishing the evacuation. Details are lightly passed over. A grave issue had to be met. The method of meeting it was much less harsh than others suggested, and than others which might be quoted as *tu quoque* justifications. In the embarkation, "Winslow," Parkman assures us was "as humane as was possible under the circumstances." Family dismemberment was carefully avoided in locating the exiles on shipboard at Grand Pré, and the inference is drawn that it was so at the other posts of shipment. There is no hint of over-crowding or other unsanitary conditions rendering the voyage to such distant points as Wilmington and Savannah unpleasant and injurious. Parkman goes so far as to say respecting the reception accorded the deported Acadians on reaching their respective destinations, that "though the provincials were vexed at the burdens imposed upon them, the Acadians in general were not ill-treated."

On the other hand writers whose point of view is that the edict of Expulsion was intrinsically unwarrantable and unjust, find in the means of its execution and in the practical working out of the latter, abundant material to inflame and intensify their abhorrence of the decree itself. If the Acadian people must leave their ancestral borders, why deposit them in communities to which they are known not by what they are in themselves, but by what they are represented to be by the very people who are deporting them,—communities to which their language, race and religion combine to make them objects of detestation? As to Parkman's particular lines of defence, pro-Acadian writers claim that they can be easily carried. John Winslow, the most honest man among the lot of deporters, may have tried to maintain family integrity to some extent in allocating the exiles in their transports. Research, however, has shown that his success was but partial. Even René Le Blanc's family was not kept intact. His household and connections, including besides his venerable wife, twenty children and one hundred and fifty grandchildren, were shipped to various points between New York and Charleston. René himself, with his wife and two youngest children, were landed at New York. He afterwards picked up three more of his children at Philadelphia, where, according to the memorial of the Philadelphia exiles to King George "he soon died without any more notice being taken of him than any of us, notwithstanding his many years' labor for your Majesty's Service." It is not too much to say that family ties, which none of the overseers of embarkation had as good an opportunity to take note of as Winslow and Murray, were in general far from scrupulously observed. No attempt was made to keep together the people of specified districts. The precise opposite seems to have been aimed at. "Of the 1,106 deported from Pisiquid, "pro-Acadian controversialists point out "207 went to Virginia on the 'Neptune;' 206 to Annapolis, Maryland, on the 'Ranger;' 230 to some place on the 'Dolphin;' 156 to Philadelphia on the 'Three Friends;' 206 to Boston on the 'Seaflower;' and about 50 others in different vessels from Grand Pré with unrecorded destinations." As to overcrowding, it is only necessary to refer to Lawrence's rule, "two passengers per ton," as to dietry, the best that a favorable authority could say was that

"the rations of bread and water were regularly served." The lack of sanitary precautions was sufficiently evidenced, by outbreaks of ship fever on several vessels, and the general woe-begone appearance presented by the exiles as they landed at their respective ports.

While spokesman for the Acadians contend, all independent investigators of the history of the expulsion must admit, that Parkman's statement that "though the provincials were vexed at the burdens imposed on them, the Acadians in general were not ill-treated" is too strong in its general allegation, that it is, in short, somewhat of a eulphemistic falsehood. Connecticut was the only one of the Provinces to which exiles had been assigned, in which any arrangements had been made to receive them on their arrival from Nova Scotia. The Assembly gave the Governor power and authority "to receive, take care of, and dispose of them (the Acadians) in such place or places under this government as may be judged most expedient, or otherwise for their removal elsewhere." History seems to be silent as to the ultimate fate of the three hundred Acadians transported to Connecticut. Some of them, it is incidentally learned were in the neighborhood of New Haven the following year. The Governors of most of the Provinces complained that they had not in advance of his circular letter announcing a decision already reached and partially enacted on, been duly appointed by Lawrence of his intention to quarter on them a body of Acadians. Governor Morris of Pennsylvania took great alarm, when "two vessels" with upwards of 300 neutral French from Nova Scotia, whom Governor Lawrence has sent to remain in this Province and I am at a very great loss to know what to do with them. The people here, as there is no military force of any kind, are very uneasy at the thought of having a number of enemies scattered in the very heart of the country." So wrote Morris of Pennsylvania to Shirley of Massachusetts, adding: "I, therefore, request particular instructions in what manner I might best dispose of these people. I have in the meantime put a guard out of the recruiting parties now in town, on board of each vessel." Shortly after the Governor relaxed so far as to give "orders to land some of them on Province Island, since a contagious malady had broken out on one of

those boats." After three months of weary waiting, public opinion forced Morris to yield, and the remnant of the exiles were permitted to land. Before landing they had been kindly nourished by a benevolent gentleman of Huguenot descent who had influence enough with the Legislature to secure the adoption of the following minute."

"Anthony Bénéget attending without, was called in and informed the House, that he had, at the request of some of the members, visited the French neutrals, now on board sundry vessels in the river, near the city and found that they were in a great need of blankets, shirts, stockings and other necessities; and he then withdrew. It was resolved that this House will allow such reasonable expenses as the said B. Vénéget may be put to in furnishing the neutral French in the Province."

Permitted at length to land, and with their immediate wants supplied by the hand of charity, the Acadians—whose principal men a year before had been prosperous farmers at Port Royal and Grand Pré—concluded a petition to the Legislature with an outburst of thanksgiving:—"Blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and we have, in every respect, been treated with Christian benevolence and charity." However, the fire that inspired this expression of gratitude soon cooled. Bénéget's means could not stand the strain of supplying an entire community and soon the poor exiles were starving to death. The utmost that legislation could do for them was to enact a statute "for binding out and settling such of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, imported in this Province, as are under age, and for maintaining the aged, sick and maimed at the charge of this Province." The act also provided that those able to work should be distributed among certain specified counties "to give them an opportunity of exercising their own labor and industry." This was the death-knell of all their hopes. As a rule the chance for life offered by this statute was rejected, inasmuch as it necessarily invited separation. The one thing which the hearth-loving Acadians dreaded, and owing to the ingrained prejudices of race, speech and religion, the few who tried to obtain employment in the rural districts, found the offers of their services invariably rejected. Death kept daily thinning their ranks. But a few

men from Port Royal, possessed of learning as well as intelligence, were still among the survivors and framed the notable appeal to the King which will appear in the sequel.

To crown the misery of the hour, the traitorous Pichon of Port Beauséjour notoriety, turns up at Philadelphia, gains the confidence of the exiles as a reputed French officer, and proceeds to lodge accusations against six of the principal survivors, including a Le Blanc, a Melançon and a Landry. Nothing is known of the precise nature of the accusations. The accused were arrested, put on board a warship and carried to parts unknown. In the course of after years so far as known to history, the Acadian Colony at Philadelphia died out. The last reference to its affairs is the following petition to the Pennsylvania Legislature: "A petition for John Hill of the city of Philadelphia, junior, was presented to the House and read setting forth that the petitioner has been employed from time to time to provide coffins for the French neutrals who have died in and about the city and had had his accounts regularly attended and paid by the Government until lately; that he is informed by the gentlemen commissioners, who used to pay him that they have no public money in hand for the payment of such debts; that he has made sixteen coffins since their last settlement, without any countermand of his former order. He therefore prays the House to make such provisions for his material and labor as to them shall seem meet." Among the Acadians who died or disappeared at Philadelphia were several relations of the historian Richard, including René Le Blanc.

Still stronger than Governor Morris in his opposition to the landing of the Acadians in his realm was the governor of New Jersey, Jonathan Belcher, Sr., father of Jonathan Belcher, Jr., the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, who furnished the legal opinion or advice on which Lawrence and his Council based their decision to expel the so called neutrals. "I am surprised," he wrote to his neighbor at Albany, "how it could ever enter the thoughts of those who had the ordering of the French Neutrals, or rather retractory rebels, to the Crown of Great Britain—it had entered into the thoughts of his own son—to direct any of them into these provinces, where we have already too great a number of foreigners for our own good and safety. I think

they should have been transported to old France." The ordinary records do not seem to disclose what was the outcome in the case of New Jersey. There does not appear any item of a shipment to that colony. The case of Virginia, however, is quite plain. The transports which brought to that colony its quota of seven hundred prisoners, were not allowed to land their cargoes, and after beating about in the adjacent waters for a month or two were ordered to sail to England. Very singular was the experience of the Acadians who reached Savannah in the earlier part of the winter of 1755-6. They formed a part of the Chignecto contingent of nine hundred and sixty assigned to South Carolina and Georgia. Those who arrived at Savannah were distributed in small parties about the Province and maintained at the public expense until spring. Then it was discovered that by the character or constitution of Georgia "Popish could not lawfully settle in the Colony." To help matters out, the Governor gave the unfortunates leave to build a number of rude boats, in which in March, they sailed for South Carolina: "Two hundred, in ten boats, going off at one time, indulging in the hope that they might thus work their way along to their native and beloved Acadie."

They were good oarsmen, and unless forcibly halted on the way, were bound to reach the far off goal. On the 22d of August (1756) seventy-eight of the number reached the shores of Long Island. The following letter from Governor Hardy of New York, to the Lords of Trade shows what happened. "On Tuesday, the 22nd day of August, seventy-eight French Neutrals with their boats landed upon Long Island, and on the first notice of their being there, I ordered all their boats to be seized and the people to be secured. On examining them, I found they were a part of the French neutrals sent by Governor Lawrence to Georgia. The Governor then gave them a pass port to go to South Carolina, that governor not thinking it proper to receive them, gave them another pass port to remove farther north; from there they coasted along shore till they landed in *this Province*, with an intention to get back to Nova Scotia. This I judged by no means proper to suffer them to do, and have therefore distributed them in the most remote and secure parts of the Colony, with directions to the magistrates to compel those that are able in work and to bind out

the children apprentices to persons who will treat them well. This appeared to me to be the surest method of making their young people useful good subjects."

The rest of the boats' crew got as far north as Boston, where they found another governor ready to stop them, too. Lieutenant-Governor Phips thus writes to Governor Lawrence at Halifax: "I have just received information that seven boats with about ninety of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, having coasted along the shore from Georgia or South Carolina, whither they had been sent from your government, had put into an harbor in the Southern part of this Province. I have therefore ordered their persons and boats to be secured, and three or four of them sent to Boston, in order to be examined.

"Your Excellency is sensible that a very great number have already been received and supported here, a number much beyond our proportion in case they were to have been distributed among the colonies by a rule of that kind. A number much greater than your Excellency originally designed to send here. Notwithstanding this, I am fully of opinion that it would be unsafe to suffer them to proceed any further."

STILL REFUSED OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE.

From 1713 to 1744 peace prevailed uninterruptedly between France and England. An anomalous condition of affairs was created by the refusal of the Acadian people in Nova Scotia to take oaths of unconditional allegiance to the British Crown. They defended this attitude by alleging that their residence on British soil was an enforced one, that their Treaty right to withdraw from the Province had been denied them by the English Governors. However, the slight temporary friction which occurred over these points practically ceased with the acceptance of the Philipp's oath in 1730. The latter, as we have seen, was the usual formula but subscribed to in connection with a verbal assurance that the parties swearing was free from obligation to take up arms against France. Anti-expulsion writers draw material from this period to strengthen their position on the question

now under consideration. During this period the rule of the English Governors is universally acknowledged to have been on the whole mild and tolerant; no charge of general misconduct or turbulence was made, much less sustained, against the Acadians.

From 1744, when France and England became involved on opposite sides in the war of the Austrian Succession, until the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, in 1748, the pacific relation between the Government at Annapolis and the Acadian people throughout Nova Scotia seemed on the brink of disturbance by the war between the Mother Countries. However, as far as the Peninsula was concerned, both the Governor and the people agreed to recognize the spirit of the *Philippi's modus vivendi*. By this arrangement matters were kept in a satisfactory condition. On this point attention has already been called to the emphatic testimony of Governor Mascarene. The Acadians of the midland district were confessedly placed in a very awkward position being sometimes called on to serve two masters on the same day, but except in a very few individual instances were not charged with any serious departure from their professed neutrality.

In the Northern part of the Province however, notwithstanding Governor Shirley's repeated appeals to the Duke of Newcastle, the Isthmus of Chignecto had been shamefully neglected by the English Government, so that the French had no difficulty in entrenching themselves in positions, which, whether in war or peace they had no difficulty in retaining, till finally dislodged by Moncton in 1755. In 1748, the restoration of Louisburg by the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle clinched the hold of France on the Isthmus. After the founding of Halifax in 1749 Bay Verte and Beausejour became in succession the capitals of what might be called French Acadia. Le Loutre gathered there his Indian forces and held them in the leash to be sprung when needed on the unwary settlers at Chebucto. Le Corne had his regulars at Bay Verte. Boishebert controlled the St John Valley with his rangers.

It is difficult to understand the fury with which the French authorities were inflamed by the founding of an English settlement at Halifax. So far as America was concerned the course of the war of the Spanish Succession had been disastrous to France. She was

able in fact to put down nothing to her credit but the occupation of Chignecto and the slight affair of Coulon de Villiers at Grand Pré. Yet so far as her possessions in North America were concerned, had a series of victories instead of a succession of defeats and disasters marked the war, she could not have hoped to find herself in a better position than that in which she was placed by the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle. Certainly she could have afforded to be magnanimous. Instead, as represented by the Governor General at Quebec, the Governor at Louisburg, and her Generals in Northern Acadia, she adopted the insane and fatal policy of trying to thwart by Indian raids, at its very inception, the attempt—made a half century too late—to establish an English colony on Chebucto Bay. The effect of this policy—as futile and senseless as it was inhuman—on the Peninsula Acadians was deadly in the extreme. It is not known—at least it was never proved—that they had even remote knowledge of a single one of the excursions on which La Loutre's marauders sought the scalps of English settlers. On the other hand it is not wonderful that such knowledge, and even active co-operation, were assumed by the endangered citizens of Halifax and Dartmouth. The whole country was a forest apart from the few French Settlements on the Bay of Fundy. The Indians came and went like thieves in the night. A close alliance and concert of action between them and the people of the French Parishes were taken for granted, especially by the New England element in Halifax. The public mind when once excited is not apt to draw too nice distinctions.

La Loutre placed at the command of those whose ultimate policy was Acadian expulsion just the material they desired. Richard is both clear sighted and candid: "It was dread of these Indians, that, for half a century, prevented England from colonizing Nova Scotia. The French imagined that, by harassing the new colonists and spreading terror through skilfully managed hostilities, they would disgust them with the country and frustrate England's projects. It was an inhuman and insane policy, which could only end in embittering England, and in increasing her efforts to dislodge a rival whose presence would ever be an obstacle to her commerce, and to her expansion.

The influence of the French on the Indians of these regions was

artfully disguised; but we know enough about it to visit it with unqualified reprobation. The instrument employed by the governors of Canada to carry out this wicked and fatal policy was that Abbe Le Loutre whom I have just mentioned. His blind zeal, his efforts urging the Indians to worry the colonists introduced by Cornwallis, his unjustifiable methods of forcing the Acadians against their will to cross the frontier, deserve to be condemned by every one and especially by the Acadians."

In an appendix to this volume are published extracts from various historical writings, indicating the conclusions reached by their respective authors on the subject of the Acadian Expulsion. Together with these will be found Chief Justice Belcher's "Opinion," a paper prepared at Lawrence's request as the official justification of the proposed deportation. Its partisanship, its inaccuracy and exaggeration in respect to some of the best known events in Acadian history, and especially its palpable confusion of the innocent with the guilty, are scarcely characteristic of a distinguished jurist and a Chief Justice. Alongside of this is placed a petition addressed to their Sovereign, King George II by the deported Acadian exiles at Philadelphia. This petition is *ex parte* of course, and lengthy as it is, omits to notice facts having an important bearing on the question at issue. It is however, worth reading in connection with Belcher's points.

The extreme view of the Anti-Expulsionists is that the measure was a wanton, inhuman and unprovoked outrage on the elementary rights of humanity. At the opposite pole is the representation of it as not merely a justifiable but an absolutely necessary step in the interests of national safety at a most perilous crisis.

Ostensibly the Acadians were expelled because they would not subscribe and swear unqualified allegiance to the English Crown. We naturally inquire who imposed these alternatives upon them at that particular juncture. Plainly the Imperial Government did not do so. The correspondence between Lawrence and the Secretary of State Sir Thomas Robinson, immediately after the fall of Port Beausejour shows that the Home Ministry looked with disfavor even on an expulsion limited to the three hundred Acadians found in arms within the

captured fort and the governor was cautioned to take no action in the direction which was vaguely hinted at in his purposely obscure, not to say, misleading letter.

The following extract from that part of Ex-Governor Archibald's well-known vindication of the Expulsion in which he charges "Evangeline" with creating a false historical impression bears upon this point. "Let me say first, if the expulsion be a stain on the annals of Nova Scotia, it is a stain from which Massachusetts, the County and home of the poet, cannot claim to be free. It was a Massachusetts Governor who devised the scheme. It was the soldiers of Massachusetts that drove the French from their encroachments on our territory beyond the Missisquoi. It was Massachusetts officers and Massachusetts soldiers who carried out the decree of expulsion at the heart and centre of the Acadian settlements at that very Grand Pre which the poet has made a household word. It was Massachusetts vessels, chartered through Massachusetts merchants, officered and manned by Massachusetts captains and crews, that carried the poor Acadian into exile. It is clear therefore that if there be any scutcheon smirched by the transaction it is specially that of the country and the home of the poet himself.

Let it be conceded that England was quite within her rights when through her governors she had demanded an unqualified oath from permanent settlers on her soil, and that she would be entirely justified now in insisting on such a token of fealty. Let it be admitted that the simple-minded Acadians were in the wrong throughout in taking the advice of the subjects of a foreign power to reject it. But it is not England who is pressing it on them, now that Beausejour has fallen, nor is it England who is advising Lawrence to press it on them with the dread alternative of expulsion. Dr. McMechan describes the situation very accurately: "The new Governor (Lawrence) was determined to bring matters to a head, while Sir Adams Archibald with equal accuracy points out what went before: "It was a Massachusetts governor who devised the scheme," and in other words, Lawrence was acting as the agent of Shirley in the supposed interests of Massachusetts. Their full programme was the capture of Beausejour, the oath-trap, the Expulsion. The Ministry in England

had sanctioned the Beausejour expedition, but the vaguely suggested ejection of a limited ill-defined fraction of the Acadians on or about the isthmus had been summarily turned down. Had Lawrence had the courage of his convictions and boldly outlined to the Secretary of State his entire scheme of deportation, Nova Scotia history would not be disfigured with the sad tragedy of the Acadian Expulsion.

Instead of administering discipline to the Acadians of the North, who, thanks to Quebec, and Louisburg, and Le Loutre, had got involved in serious difficulties, Lawrence brought his engine of destruction to bear on the comparatively unoffending people of the Peninsula. Dual allegiance may be an absurdity, a contradiction in terms, even an impossibility. Still for twenty-five years the so-called Phillips' oath, as that oath was interpreted by the Acadians, in war, as well as in peace, as the regulative principle of their relations to the Crown of England. At this time there was nothing in the nature of a crisis, except that which had been brought on by Lawrence by virtue of his instruction from Shirley.

All historians agree that the early summer of 1755 was the most tranquil period that peninsular Nova Scotia had enjoyed since the founding of Halifax. The efforts of Le Loutre to depopulate, by cajolery or threats, the southern settlements, in favor of his scheme of a great northern Acadia had practically exhausted themselves. He had settled down to his work of marsh reclamation on the Aulac, and with his withdrawal from military activity the Indian raids had ceased. The Acadians on whom the edict of expulsion bore most heavily, simply inherited the misfortune which befel their ancestors during more than one-half of the French regime. They were the shuttlecocks to French and English battledores. They were ground between the upper and the nether millstone. They paid the penalty of Le Loutre's policy of Indian raids against Halifax and Dartmouth; for without the excited public sentiment generated by these scalping expeditions it would have been impossible for even Shirley and Lawrence to have carried through their projects. The Acadians of the Peninsula on whom the stroke of expulsion fell most heavily, and for whom beyond doubt it was primarily intended were essentially a peace loving people. Their whole history of forty years during Eng-

lish rule proves conclusively that they were not of those who rush hastily to arms. During that long period there was not among them a serious outbreak. To speak of their Expulsion as a War measure is a *reductio ad absurdum*. Questions as to their racial characteristics have nothing to do with the question at issue. That question is, was their expulsion a justifiable measure.

That on its face the expulsion bears the marks of injustice and cruelty is beyond question; that it was in reality beyond the range of justification, or at least of reasonable apology, is not to be assumed without inquiry. The action of the French Governors of Quebec and Louisburg, with Le Loutre as agent, or really as leader, in sending Indian marauders to scalp the English settlers of the peninsula and burn their houses, was highly provocative, left bitter memories behind it, and may be set down as the primary cause of the expulsion. It created an atmosphere which enabled Lawrence to carry out his plans on a comprehensive scale without incurring universal rebuke and execration. In moments of excitement and alarm people do not always, perhaps not generally, "distinguish between things that differ." When Lawrence in his letter of instructions to Moncton wrote that the French inhabitants of Acadia "have continually furnished the French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions, and assistance in annoying the government" he knew that he was guilty of absolute misrepresentation as far as the great central parishes were concerned, but at the same time was probably expressing what was the general opinion of the people of Halifax, where, it must be admitted the tragedy does not seem to have excited any strong feelings of reprobation from the first to last.

But for Lawrence himself, there is no reason for apologetic plea. He well knew that the words which have been quoted from his letter of instructions to Moncton had little or no foundation in fact in regard to the great body of people whom he was preparing to tear from their homes. They were a mere cloak. In the same letter while charging falsely the Acadians of the Peninsula as a body, with abetting the French encroachments by their treachery, he also refers to another party (the Acadians of the North) "three hundred of whom were actually found in arms in the French fort at Beausejour when

it surrendered." Lawrence just here seems to have suffered two lapses of memory. Moncton to whom he was writing had pardoned these three hundred men on the ground that they had taken arms under compulsion. The second thing which he did not recall was that he had in his desk a letter from the Secretary of State repudiating his own suggestion of transporting the three hundred unfortunates, a suggestion which he had speciously offered as an entering wedge for a larger scheme.

As for the expulsion of the Acadians as a whole, but particularly, in its inclusion of the older valley settlements, the writer of this history can only conclude that the more it is investigated, the more indefensible it appears. The following summary of grounds for this conviction is presented:

1. The plea that the Acadians from the Pisiquid River to Annapolis Basin were driven from their homes in reparation for acts of treachery and other grievous crimes calling for condign punishment must be wholly rejected. In the conferences and discussions with the deputies from Pisiquid, the only crimes urged against them were that Murray had reported a sinister look on the countenances of the people at a certain juncture, and that the inhabitants had not been up to time in providing the fort with firewood. Nothing out of the way was reported from the other parishes. Things were in such a quiet state at Grand Pré, that it had been decided to dismantle the fort and transfer its equipment to Fort Edward.

2. There is nothing to justify the expulsion in the claim that it synchronised with a grave military crisis. No such crisis existed; and if it had, the presence or absence of the six or seven thousand pastoral folk in the valley was a matter of no significance whatever. Beauséjour was in British occupation. Moncton with a force of two thousand men had the whole Chignecto region firmly in his grasp. The Acadian population, outside of the thousand or so persons held by Moncton, had fled to the woods. The justly dreaded *Le Loutre* was a fugitive. The picture drawn of the grave danger of leaving untouched the people of the Southern settlements, "to fall on the flank of an English Army," marching from somewhere to somewhere, is as careless of the facts of geography as of the facts of history.

3. Lawrence in ordering, arranging, and carrying out the expulsion disregarded his instructions and transcended his authority. He used, and instructed his agents to use, His Majesty's name without warrant, to becloud his designs and deceive the innocent and unwary.

4. The fact that whatever amount of suffering the measure may have inflicted on the Acadians, one of the results was the permanent occupation of many of the most beautiful and fertile parts of the greater Nova Scotia, by English-speaking races, has no bearing on the question at issue.¹

Charles Lawrence as President of the Council administered the government of Nova Scotia for a year after the retirement of Hopson. On Monday, October 14, 1754, the King's commission appointing him Lieutenant Governor was publicly read in the Court House. On the same day, Jonathan Belcher, the newly appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, was sworn in as a member of the Council.

VARIOUS COURTS ARE ESTABLISHED.

Cornwallis the first governor of the Province, had committed to him by the Royal Instructions, the duty of providing legal machinery for the maintenance of peace and order. For a time it was thought that the spirit of this instruction would be reasonably well met by the Council converting itself more or less periodically into a Court of Justice. So during the earlier months, or longer, the Council added to its governmental functions those of "a General Court for the trial of all cases civil and criminal." This arrangement not proving workable, judicial tribunals called County Courts and Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, in which, owing to the absence of lawyers, justice was for the most part administered by laymen, were established. These constituted for four or five years the judicial organism of the Province. This in turn failed to secure the ends of justice; nothing short of a Supreme Court with a legal luminary at its head, could meet the requirements of the case. Jonathan Belcher of Bos-

¹The compiler of this history holds no hereditary brief for the Acadians. His four grandparents were among the earliest settlers on vacated Acadian lands.

ton, Mass., was appointed by the Imperial Government to preside over the newly formed tribunal. He was a graduate of Harvard, a member of the society of the Inner Temple, and apparently at the time of his appointment a practising barrister in Ireland.¹ In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register it is said of him that "he was a man of excellent habits, prudent, upright, and of great political integrity," and also that "his prejudices were much in favor of New England." The latter fact probably explains to some extent the tone of his "Opinion" on the proposed deportation of the Acadians. Belcher's formal inauguration into office (Oct. 21, 1754) would seem to have been the most imposing and impressive civil event in the early history of Halifax. It is fully recorded in Murdock: "On the first day of Michalmas term, Chief Justice Belcher walked in procession from the Governor's house to the Pontac Tavern. He was accompanied by Lieut. Governor Lawrence, the members of the Council, and the gentlemen of the Bar in their ranks. They were proceeded by the provost marshal, the Judge's tipstaff and other civil officers. At the long room of the Pontac an elegant breakfast was provided. * * * Breakfast being over, they proceeded, with the commission carried before them, to the Church (St. Paul's), where the Rev. Mr. Breynton preached from the text: "I am one of those that are peaceable and faithful in Israel." In the earlier years at Halifax in the absence of a law-making organization the Council almost of necessity assumed the functions of a legislature and framed ordinances and by-laws which had the effect of regularly enacted statutes. In fact the Council proceeded so far as to establish restrictions on trade and impose taxes. In short it claimed for itself the powers of a regularly established legislature. Somebody raised a question as to the constitutionality of this procedure. Chief Justice Belcher, acting in his legal, rather than political capacity, decided the point adversely to the Council's interpretation of its powers. The opinion of the Crown officers in England was sought, which was duly transmitted to Halifax as follows: "The governor and council alone are not authorized by his Majesty to make laws. Till there can be an assembly, his Majesty has ordered the government of the infant colony to be pursuant to his commission and instructions, and

such further directions as he should give under his sign, or by order in council." This decision was directly in support of the view held by the Chief Justice and strongly endorsed by the whole of the powerful New England contingent in Halifax, that a representative assembly was an absolute necessity. Lawrence, whose relations with the mercantile interest—the business of Halifax was largely in the hands of New Englanders—were far from friendly, energetically protested against the attempt to clip the Council's wings. He claimed that the enactments of the Council were indispensably necessary regulations and quoted the precedent of Virginia. If Belcher's proposition to elect twelve members for the Province at Halifax, the whole power would be centralized in the merchants. Then there is the consideration of expense.

About this time (February, 1756) Lawrence hears from Shirley. He was pretty plainly reminded that the Massachusetts government and assembly would like very much to be indemnified for the French Acadian exiles, and would also like to get back 2,000 stands of arms loaned to Nova Scotia. On the question at issue between Lawrence and Belcher, he reminds the former that "the New England people are accustomed to be ruled by a governor, council and assembly, and to charter constitutions." Lawrence had to send back to Massachusetts one hundred and eighty men whom he had drafted into the Nova Scotia from two New England regiments which took part in the siege of Beausejour.

About this time Lawrence received some information regarding the movement in boats and small vessels of some of the Acadians deported to the southern colonies the previous year. So he again addresses a circular letter to all the English governors on the continent "begging them to take measures to frustrate this design by destroying any vessels prepared or in use for such a purpose, assuring them that the return of those people would be likely to be fatal to his Majesty's interest in this part of the world." He receives as well as writes letters. Shirley has gone to the Bahamas, so the Massachusetts letter this time comes from Lieut.-Governor Phipps, who reports the arrival at Marshfield, of the ninety Acadians from Georgia, of whom we have already heard, and presses for indemnity.

fication in respect of expense incurred for the support of the Acadians sent to Massachusetts.

The problem of a representative assembly continued to press for solution. The more Lawrence thought of it, the more it worried him. The New Englanders would not be balked of their purpose. They had at their back the powerful influence of Belcher, while they continued to deluge the Lords of Trade with petitions. Lawrence could not understand what the petitioners wanted or of what they complained. As a governor he had always been ready to redress grievances. There will be suspicious and ill-designing people under any system of government. But the tide in favor of representative institutions was irresistible. On December 3, 1750, Lawrence laid before the Council for consideration the correspondence with the Lords of Trade concerning a house of representatives. The material out of which to construct the proposed legislative body was so scanty that it tasked the ingenuity of the councillors to work out a passably acceptable result. Eventually, a legislature constitution, with an appended schedule of representation was prepared for transmission to the Lords of Trade across the water, with the result of their labors before him, Murdock expatiates and moralizes as follows:

"The light taxation—the great economy, and honest application of provincial revenue—the steady improvement in roads and bridges, and the integrity that have all been habitual in our public affairs, and which yet give our little province honor and distinction, as well as the general loyalty and union of our people down to the present time, may be attributed justly to the serious deliberations of the governors and councils of 1756-1757, and their desire to promote the welfare of the province. They laid an excellent foundation for a free government. The experience and sentiments of New England had, no doubt, much weight in their consultations. Mr. Belcher combined the Bostonian with the learned student of the Temple—the aristocratic feeling with a profound respect for the democratic element of British law. Messrs. Green and Morris were also from New England. Lawrence, Moncton and Collier were English. Many changes

¹In a foot note to one of the pages of his excellent article on Belcher (N. S. Historical Socy. Coll., Vol. XVIII) Ex-Chief Justice Townsend gives information pointing in that direction.

and some improvements in our constitution have since been adopted. Religious prejudice has disappeared, and with it test oaths, and other barriers between neighbor and neighbor. The broad rule of universal suffrage has extended the responsibility of the government to all the governed; but after all our modifications, we must not forget that the elements of civil liberty were planted broad and deep amongst us by the men of the eighteenth century. As all human institutions and arrangements partake of the imperfections of man, we must not be surprised to find that, in representative governments, tumults, passion and party views occasionally disturb the working of the machinery—that popular excitements and restless demagogues sometimes induce doubts in the reflective mind of the real blessings of liberty; while on the other hand, influence, private ambition and pitiful subserviency may give to a country with a free constitution the aspect of servility, sycophancy and slavery. But all these oscillations proceed from the people themselves, and not from any defect in the principles of free government. They also are evidently short-lived evils, and rarely last long enough to inflict a permanent injury on the constitution. Viewing the whole country in which the people of Nova Scotia have had a representative government, we may conclude that it has been a blessing, the value of which can hardly be overrated."

The governor communicated to the council a letter of the board of trade, dated 7th February, 1758, approving, with some alterations, of the plan adopted by the Council 3rd January, 1757, respecting the General Assembly, on which the Governor and council came to, the following resolutions: "That a house of representatives of the inhabitants of this province be the Civil Legislature thereof, in conjunction with H. M. Governor or commander-in-chief for the time being, and his majesty's council of the said province."

"The first House to be elected and convened in the following manner, and to be styled the General Assembly, viz: "That there shall be elected for the province at large, until the same shall be divided into counties, sixteen members; for the township of Halifax, four; for the township of Lunenburg, two." "That until the said

townships can be more particularly described, the limits thereof shall be deemed to be as follows, viz: "That the township of Halifax comprehended all the lands lying southerly of a line extending from the westernmost head of Bedford Basin across to the Northeasterly head of St. Margaret's Bay, with all the islands nearest to the said lands, together with the islands called Cornwallis's, Webb's and Rous's islands."

"That the township of Lunenburg comprehended all the lands lying between LaHave river and the easternmost head of Mahone Bay, with all the islands within said Bay, and all the islands within Mirliquash Bay, and those islands lying to the southward of the above limits."

"That when fifty qualified electors shall be settled at Pisiquid, Minas, Cobequid, or any other townships which may hereafter be erected, each of the said townships so settled shall, for their encouragement, be entitled to send two representatives to the General Assembly, and shall likewise have a right of voting in the election of representatives for the province at large."

"That the house shall always consist of at least eleven members present, besides the speaker, before they enter upon business."

"That no person shall be chosen as a member of the said house, or shall have a right of voting in the election of any member of the said house, who shall be a Popish recusant, or shall be under the age of twenty-one years, or who shall not, at the time of such election, be possessed, in his own right, of a freehold estate within the district for which he shall be elected, or shall so vote; nor shall any elector have more than one vote for each member to be chosen for the province at large, or for any township, and that each freeholder present at such election, and giving his vote for one member for the province at large, shall be obliged to vote also for the other fifteen."

There were several other regulations, among which are that the electors, if required, are to take "the usual state oaths," and declare and subscribe the test," and a qualification oath is prescribed, in which the possession of a freehold, a negation of bribery, etc., are contained.

The provost marshal or sheriff of the province is to hold the election, giving 20 days previous notice.

The precept is to be made returnable on the 2nd, October next. The election for each township is to last two days, and that for the province at large four days.

In case of two month's absence of a member from the province, the governor may, if he think necessary, issue a writ to choose another in his place.

As the time approached for the first meeting of the assembly, Lawrence grew increasingly apprehensive as to the outcome of the legislative experiment. He informs the Lords of Trade that he hopes he shall not find in any of the representatives a disposition to embarrass his Majesty's service or to dispute the royal prerogative. He noticed among the members chosen some who had not been particularly noticeable for their loyalty either to the government or the province:

On Monday, October 2, 1758, there met at the Court House in Halifax, the first Nova Scotia House of Assembly. The nineteen members present were: Joseph Gerrish, Robert Sanderson, Henry Newton, William Foye, William Nesbitt, Joseph Rundell, Esquires, Jonathan Binney, Henry Ferguson, George Suckling, John Burbidge, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, Joseph Fairbanks, Philip Hammond, John Fillis, Lambert Folkers, Philip Knaut, William Best, Alexander Kedie—Gentlemen.

Robert Sanderson was chosen speaker. Then came the Governors' speech. The members are duly informed of what is expected of them—"to promote the service of the crown or in other words the real welfare of the People." Expecting to be called away on military duty, he especially asks them to pass retroactive legislation, validating the acts of governor and council, which had been beyond the strict limits of their powers.

PEACE TREATY IS BROKEN.

The peace established between England and France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 was not formally broken until 1756

On May 18th of the latter year England declared war against France: on the 9th of the following month, France declared war against England. The declarations amounted to little so far as the American colonies of the two nations were concerned. There had been in more or less open conflict since 1751. The English declaration put in the forefront as provoking and justifying it, "the French usurpations and encroachments in Nova Scotia."

The first years of the Seven Years War was in America entirely barren of important results. Great things were planned for 1757 by both England and France. France captured Oswego and gained other advantages. Lord London, the English Commander-in-Chief, in succession to Shirley was as weak and inefficient as he was pompous and dictatorial. He recommended, perhaps rightly, the concentration of effort and suggested the capture of Quebec as the one supreme object to be aimed at. This policy was approved in London, and London was informed that a strong fleet would be sent over, conveying transports with 8,000 men on board. The Commander-in-Chief was instructed to collect as large a colonial force as possible and with it meet the fleet and transports at Halifax. Accordingly a fleet consisting of fifteen ships of the line and some frigates, with fifty transports containing 6,200 troops, sailed from England for Halifax on the 5th of May and was off Sambro on the 9th of June, ten days after London's arrival from New York. It was very foggy when Admiral Holbourne struck the coast, so that it took him five days to get his ships to the anchoring ground, though Sir Charles Hardy, in command of London's vessels, sent out thirteen sloops to aid the incoming ships in making harbor.

London's project of capturing Quebec was laid aside in favor of an attack on Louisburg. Then intelligence arrived that Louisburg was in a peculiarly strong condition. On the fourth of August a Council-of-War was held at which a decision was reached "to lay aside all thoughts of attacking Louisburg." London accordingly decided to return to New York, leaving nearly half of his troops "to defend Nova Scotia." His visit to Halifax, which extended over some seven weeks, is referred to by Murdock as "a cabbage-planting expedition," the reason for which designation one historian does not

explicitly state. The explanation is not far to seek. Two things London was particularly anxious to keep as far away from his soldiers as possible—the scurvy and rum. He had sound views on the scurvy question and knew that a plentiful vegetarian diet was the one infallible anti-scorbutic; so he set his soldiers to making gardens in which they planted or sowed cabbages, lettuce and pot herbs generally. This occupation had the additional advantage of keeping them away from the rum shops.

Admiral Holbourne could not let the idea of an attack on Louisburg entirely drop. On the same day on which London sailed for New York, he steered for Louisburg. On his approach he gathered information that the French fleet protecting the fortress had been reinforced. He deemed it best to run no risk, and so returned to Halifax. Managing to secure the co-operation of two ships of the line, Holbourne decided to make yet another attempt on Louisburg. His hope was that the French would come out to attack him. This the French Admiral had no thought of doing. One of those provokingly violent gales which sometimes make navigation dangerous toward the end of September on our Nova Scotia coast, sprang up suddenly. Eleven of Holbourne's ships were dismasted. One of them, the *Tilbury*, was totally wrecked, with the loss of many lives. Eventually on October 4th, eight vessels made Halifax; others sailed direct to England.

On his way to New York, London picked up the information that Fort William Henry was captured and Albany in great danger. England lost—worse than lost—another year. 1758 will have a different story to tell.

A new hand was at the helm. Pitt re-entered the British Cabinet in the autumn of 1757, on the condition that he was to direct the foreign and colonial policy with the absolute power of a dictator. The winter was spent in devising and initiating the masterly policy which settled between France and England the question of North American supremacy.

The first object which Pitt's policy aimed to secure was the capture and demolition of Louisburg. The expedition for accomplishing these results was practically organized by mid-winter. General

Amherst, who, in the dearth of first-class military genius characteristic of those times, was probably the best choice possible, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. The charge of the naval squadron was entrusted to Admiral Edward Boscawen in whose veins flowed the blood of the Churchills; and who figured in the navy as "Old Dreadnought." The three junior brigadiers were Governor Lawrence, Wentworth and James Wolfe. On the last named, the youngest and physically weakest of the three, was destined to fall the chief stress of the famous siege, and to his name its glory principally attaches. He was grandson of Arabella Churchill, well known for her connection with an English King. He was therefore nephew of the Duke of Berwick, only second in military ability to his uncle Marlborough.

Since 1745, when Louisburg fell to Pepperrell and Warren, much had been done to strengthen its fortifications, but not enough at the point of greatest danger. The security of the fortress—this was the lesson of the previous siege—lay in the prevention of landing hostile forces on the rocky surf-beaten shore. Such landing, the troops under the leadership of Wolfe—to whom the post of honor in the formidable undertaking was assigned—accomplished as easily as did the New England fishermen and farmers in 1745. The French Commandant at Louisburg was the Chevalier de Drucour. His memoir of the siege cannot be regarded as altogether candid and strictly accurate. To defend himself he states that the fortifications were in a ruinous condition and that nothing had been done to repair them since the restoration to France in 1748, whereas in 1755 urgent orders had been issued to put the defences in order and the work of strengthening the fortress entrusted to the eminent engineer Fraïquet, who himself was at the siege. Drucour also speaks of the weakening effects of famine. If true at any time, this statement was not true at the time of the siege. Well laden provision ships had just sailed in.

SECOND SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

If we except the sieges of Troy and Jerusalem, the details of no siege were ever described at greater length than the second siege of Louisburg. The following, which has the merit of brevity, is Hali-burton's account of it:

The whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-one sail, and fourteen thousand men, took their departure from Nova Scotia on the 28th of May, and on the 2nd of June, 1758, anchored in the Bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisburg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucor, consisted of 2,500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed of the inhabitants; and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by 350 Canadians and Indians. The harbor was secured by six ships of the line and five frigates; three of which they sunk across the entrance, in order to render it inaccessible to the English Shipping. Six days elapsed before the troops could be disembarked, on account of the heavy surf which broke with prodigious violence on the whole shore; but on the seventh, the agitation of the water having partly subsided, the troops were distributed in three divisions and ordered to effect a landing. The right and centre, under the command of Governor Lawrence and General Whitmore, received instructions to make a show of landing to distract the attention of the enemy, while the real attempt was made in another quarter by General Wolfe. The French reserved their fire until the boats had nearly reached the shore, when they made a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry, which, aided by the surf, upset and sunk many of the boats. The men, encouraged in all their difficulties by the example, spirit and conduct of their gallant commander, gained the beach at the Creek of Cormoran, and compelled the enemy to retire to the town. As soon as the stores and artillery were landed, which was not effected without great difficulty, General Wolfe was detached, with two thousand men, to seize a post, occupied by the enemy, at the Light House Point, from which the ships in the harbor and the fortifications in the town might be greatly annoyed. On his approach

it was abandoned, and several very strong batteries were erected there. The fire from this place, by the 25th, completely silenced the Island battery, which was immediately opposed to it. In the interim, the besieged made several sallies, with very little effect, while the approaches to the town were conducted with resolute but cautious vigor. The Bizarre and the Comet escaped the vigilance of the squadron before the commencement of the siege, and the *Écho* attempted to follow their example, but was captured soon after she left the harbor. On the 21st of July one of the largest of the French ships blew up with an awful explosion, which accident having communicated the fire to two others, they were both consumed in a short time to the water's edge. Admiral Boscawen now sent 600 men in boats into the harbor to make an attempt on two ships of the line, which still remained in the basin—the *Prudent*, a 74-gun ship, and the *Bienfaisant*, of 64 guns. The former, having been run aground, was destroyed, and the latter was towed past the batteries in triumph with the inconsiderable loss of seven men killed and nine wounded. This gallant exploit putting the English in complete possession of the harbor, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the place was no longer deemed defensible and the Governor offered to capitulate. The terms proposed by him were refused, and it was required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war, or sustain an assault by sea and land. These humiliating conditions, though at first rejected were afterwards agreed to; and on the 26th of July, 1758, the Chevalier Drucor signed the Articles of Capitulation."

BRITISH FLAG OVER LOUISBURG AGAIN.

Louisburg was now for the second time a British possession. Brigadier Whitmore was appointed Governor. Regulations were at once framed and put into rigorous operation for the maintenance of order,—the prevention of pillage, the protection of life, and the guardianship of female honor. Every specification embraced in the articles of capitulation was fulfilled to the letter. The formal ceremony of surrender,—the delivering up of arms and colors—was duly celebrated on the esplanade. As prisoners of war, the garrison troops were sent

off to England in British bottoms. Non-combatants took their departure for France. The evacuation was complete.

The Shannon, the swiftest frigate in Boscawen's fleet, was chosen to convey to Pitt, tidings of the successful inauguration of his masterly line of campaign. Together with the despatches of the commander-in-chief and his naval colleague, the Shannon took over as confirmatory tokens of the reported triumph, eleven standards surrendered by the enemy.

The conquest of Louisburg was to England of that day, a gleam of light in a very dark sky. Since the but partially appreciated capture of Beausejour, there had come over in constant succession reports of mortifying and humiliating reverses. Simply as a break in a melancholy series of failures the news from Louisburg was hailed with lively satisfaction and loud acclaims by thousands who for their lives could not have found Louisburg on their maps. But far deeper than superficial elation, as testified by drum and trumpet and flag, were the feelings of confidence and hope which the event inspired in those who grasped its true significance.

French power in America had received a severe, if not absolutely fatal, blow at a vital point. More than that, a new hand was at the helm in England. As a member of the imperial parliament, Admiral Boscawen was present to receive in the following winter the thanks of the House of Commons, which had been voted to him in conjunction with General Amherst.¹

The original plan of campaign, anticipated the capture of Louisburg at a point in the season sufficiently early to permit of an immediately consequent attack on Quebec. Stormy weather and the stoutness of Duroc's defense combined to prolong the siege to a date which rendered the postponement of the St. Lawrence expedition to the

¹ General Amherst received in recognition of his services at Louisburg, in addition to the vote of thanks, an appointment to the governorship of Virginia, which position he held nominally, or in the relation of a sinecure, for five years, the duties being performed by a lieutenant-governor. Eventually the provincial objections to this arrangement became so strong that Amherst was asked to resign the non-residential governorship with its emoluments. For the latter, as a reward for services he claimed compensation, and accordingly on similar terms he was appointed governor of Guernsey. Eventually he became a peer and Commander-in-Chief of the British army. In America the feeling of satisfaction was perhaps somewhat tempered by the reflection that this time Louisburg had fallen to purely British valor.

following summer inevitable, though Wolfe's ardor prompted him to press for immediate action.

At this point Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) began to emerge into prominence. As an appendage to Cape Breton, its surrender was embraced in the general one at Louisburg. To assure possession, Lord Rollo was sent by Amherst to take over the island from Governor de Villegonin at Port Le Joie (Charlottetown). Lord Rollo¹ reported a population of 4,100 a considerable fraction of which consisted of deported Acadians. Rollo's instructions were to treat the French inhabitants of whatever origin according to the policy established at Louisburg, to send to France such as were not desirous of becoming British subjects, and to allow those to remain who were willing to subscribe allegiance.—Few accepted the latter alternative. Over 1,500 were transported to France. Rollo did not interfere with French vessels which carried many from the northern part of the island to Canada and Restigouche. Not a few in the remoter parts remained on their farms without molestation. The island, of whose fertility Rollo brought back to Louisburg a glowing description, was placed under the government of Nova Scotia.

Meantime Wolfe had been commissioned to perform a most uncongenial task, pending his return to England. With a fleet of seven ships of the line and three frigates, under the naval Command of Sir Charles Hardy and carrying three regiments and considerable artillery, the hero of Louisburg and Quebec, was sent to level to the ground the French settlements on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, particularly those of Miramichi, Bay Chaleur, and Gaspé. His orders were to "disperse" or "carry off" the inhabitants. With such a force at his command the distasteful duty was speedily accomplished. How distasteful it was can be learned from Wolfe's letter to Amherst, in which he reports to his superior officer, then in New England, the execution of the duty assigned him: "Your orders were carried into execution as far as troops could carry them. Our equipment was very improper to the business, and the numbers, unless the squadron had gone up the river (the St. Lawrence) quite unnecessary. We have done a great deal of mischief—spread the terror of His Majesty's arms through the

¹Rollo Bay, a small inlet near the eastern extremity of Prince Edward Island, is a memorial of Lord Rollo's visit.

whole Gulf, but have added nothing to the reputation of them." To his father he wrote: "Sir Charles Hardy, and I are preparing to rob the fishermen of their nets and burn their boats. When the great exploit is at an end, I return to Louisburg and thence to England." Wolfe's orders were to "disperse" or "carry off," the inhabitants of the raided settlements. He invariably chose the milder alternatives. Property his instructions bound him to destroy, but "he would not suffer the least barbarity to be committed upon the persons of the wretched inhabitants." This pitifully mean and despicable service—though none of its meanness and infinite smallness attaches to himself—once off his hands, Wolfe returned to Louisburg and took sail with Boscawen for England. In less than a year the man now compelled by orders not to be resisted to burn the shacks and fish flakes of the poor fishermen of Gaspé and Tracadie had made his name immortal.

While Wolfe and Hardy were reducing to ashes all fruits of the fishermen's toil on the shores of the Gulf, Sir Robert Moncton with a strong force was despatched to the St. John to carry on an essentially analogous work of destruction along the banks of that noble river. As his vessels drew too much water for the upper reaches of the river he had to wait in the harbor for some sloops and whale boats from Fort Cumberland. Having lost one of his sloops at the "reversible falls" Moncton with his motley fleet got up the river as far as the Jemseg, where he found a settlement of fugitives from Beauséjour, who had escaped his hands in September, 1755. The exiles effected another escape, but of course their houses were duly burned. When some canoes laden with corn were discovered a few miles further up, "the canoes were burned and the corn taken for use." On his way back to his ships, Moncton destroyed Jemseg, and all the houses to be found on the banks of the river as he descended.

The work of obliteration is not yet complete. Major Scott "with the light infantry and rangers" was sent to deal with the Pétitcodiac as Moncton had been instructed to do with the St. John. Near the head of the river he found a schooner and a sloop with a decided flavor of privateering about them, and near by some traces of human occupation as well. The net results of Scott's exploration of the Pétitcodiac were the imprisonment of thirty men, women and children, the

burning of one hundred and fifty houses or barns, the destruction of much grain, and the killing—whether for use or in mere wantonness—of many cattle.

On the 2nd. of October, 1758, the members having assembled at Halifax, and chosen Robert Sanderson, Esq. as their speaker, his Excellency Governor Lawrence opened the session with the following Speech:—

“Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives,

“His Majesty having been most graciously pleased, by his Royal instructions to his Governors of this Province, to direct the calling an Assembly of the freeholders, to act in conjunction with his Governors and Council, as the Legislative authority, when such a measure should be found essential to his service; I am to assure you, that it is with particular pleasure I now meet you, convened in that capacity, in consequence of a plan some time since formed for that purpose, with the advice and assistance of his Majesty’s Council, and by me transmitted to the Lord’s commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to be laid before his Majesty for his approbation.

“Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.

“I entertain the most sanguine hopes that you have come together, unanimously disposed to promote the service of the Crown, or in other words the real welfare and prosperity of the People whom you have the honor to represent, in every point, to the utmost of your authority and capacity. This I presume you will conceive is justly to be expected, not only from the immediate regard due to the civil rights and interests of your constituents, but likewise from the unspeakable obligations you are under, to demonstrate in their behalf, your dutiful sense of his Majesty’s paternal concern for the prosperity and security of these his subjects, in those distinguished marks of his Royal favor and protection which we have, from time to time, so happily experienced, in the fleets and armies sent out for our immediate preservation, when we were under the most imminent danger of being swallowed up by a merciless enemy. Also, in the ample supply of money, for so many years granted for the support and encouragement of this in-

fant Colony; and moreover still, in the continuance of his Majesty's Royal bounty, for that purpose, when, from the seeming inclination of the inhabitants to have an Assembly convened some time since, it might have been presumed, and, indeed by an article of his Majesty's instructions (which I shall order to be laid before you) it has been judged, that the Colony was capable of providing for the necessary support of Government here, as has been usual in all his Majesty's other American Dominions.

"Gentlemen of both houses.

"As my military occupation requires my attendance as early as possible, upon the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, to the westward, and as the Lieutenant-Governor is now necessarily employed, and will be for some time to come, upon an enterprise of importance in a distant part of the Province, there is not at present an opportunity of entering upon such particulars as might otherwise call for your attention. I am, therefore, earnestly to recommend to your serious consideration, the expediency, or rather necessity of unanimity and despatch, in the confirmation of such acts or resolutions, of a legislative nature, as the Governor and Council under his Majesty's royal instructions, have found expedient before the forming an Assembly, and indispensibly necessary for promoting the welfare and peaceable government of this people. You may depend upon it, Gentlemen, that upon my return to the Government, you will find me perfectly disposed to concur with you, in enacting such further Laws making such amendments to the present ones, and establishing such other regulations, as shall appear, upon more mature deliberation, to be consistent with the honor and dignity of the Crown, and conducive to the lasting happiness of his Majesty's subjects, over whom I have the honor to preside."

Governor Lawrence returned to Halifax from Louisburg towards the end of August 1759. The precept for convening the first Assembly had been made returnable on the 2nd of October. His resolute antagonism from the beginning to the admission of a popular element into the government of the Province, quite prepares us to learn that he

looked forward to the convoking of the Assembly with nervous apprehension. On the 20th of September he informs the Lords of trade that "it is his hope not to find in any of the representatives a disposition to embarrass or obstruct his majesty's service, or to dispute the royal prerogative," though he observes "that too many of the members chosen are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to H. M. government here, or indeed that have the most natural attachment to the province. In that part of his speech especially addressed to "Gentlemen of the House of Representatives," it is worth noting with what adroitness the governor puts his points. "The most sanguine hopes" have taken the place of the most gloomy misgivings. "The service of the Crown is identified with the real welfare and prosperity of the people." As an inspiration to good conduct "the immediate regard due to the civil rights and interests of their (your) constituents" is not lost sight of, but emphasis is laid on the unspeakable obligations imposed by the liberality of a truly maternal government.

The crowning stroke is delicate but effective. "The seeming inclination of the inhabitants to have a natural presumption that (in the opinion of those inhabitants and their representatives) the colony was become capable of providing for the necessary support of Government here, as has been usual in all His Majesty's other American Dominions."

The answer of the House was in tone and form all that the Governor could have wished, if only one or two omitted assurances had been supplied. No notice whatever was taken of the hint in the direction of self-support. Neither was any obligation acknowledged or pledge given to validate such proceedings of the Council as transcended its power.

Some difficulty was experienced in getting the legislative machinery into good working order. A certain bill was sent down by the Council to the Assembly for consideration and concurrence. Inscribed on it was the customary French formula of transmission, which the two houses of the English parliament had inherited from the old Norman times. The New England spirit in the Assembly took fire at sight of the French endorsement. The unfortunate bill was contemptuously

sent back to its source, with an inquiry as to its meaning. Then after the temporary explosion, came a conference, then learned explanations, then an adjustment or compromise which established forms of intercourse between the two branches of the legislature which we suppose are observed to this day.

Getting to work, the assembly looked into the financial condition of the Province and was struck by the amount, as well as the variety, of fees collected by the servants of the public. Carefully prepared statements of such collections were required of all classes of public officials. The Vice-Admiralty Court Judge and Register alone refused to comply with the order, on the ground that the Court was a law unto itself, not even Parliament itself having power to interfere with its prescriptive rights in the matter. The Council upheld the Vice-Admiralty view. Then the assembly struck back by passing a bill, disqualifying any person who filled a salaried office under the Government from holding a seat at the Council Board or being returned as a member of the Assembly. This bill naturally enough got "the three months hoist" in the Council. Commenting on these jars Haliburton observes: "This House of Assembly appears to have been actuated by a feeling of importance, which power, when recently acquired, is too apt to engender; and the Council, which had hitherto engrossed the whole legislative powers, and was to a certain extent, independent of public opinion, naturally viewed with jealousy the formation of a third branch which diminished both its authority and influence. From the action of these opposite feelings each party regarded the conduct of the other with the distrust of a rival, and the governor had no easy task to reconcile their jarring pretensions.

Notwithstanding these conflicts and frictions, the Council and Assembly concurred in passing bills confirming the past proceedings of the courts of Judicature, for establishing the liturgy of the Church of England as the form of worship in Nova Scotia, for giving effect to the several resolutions of the Governor and Council, for confirming the titles of land, for rendering real estate liable for payment of debts, and for punishing criminal offenders, and other acts of some importance. A few days after the adjournment, Lawrence reports to the Lords of Trade that the Assembly had met and passed a number of laws. He

hopes to get through the business in time and with less altercation than, from the seeming disposition of the people, he had been apprehensive of. He explains there may have been more time required in a session than in cases, but that not a moment had been lost or mispent.

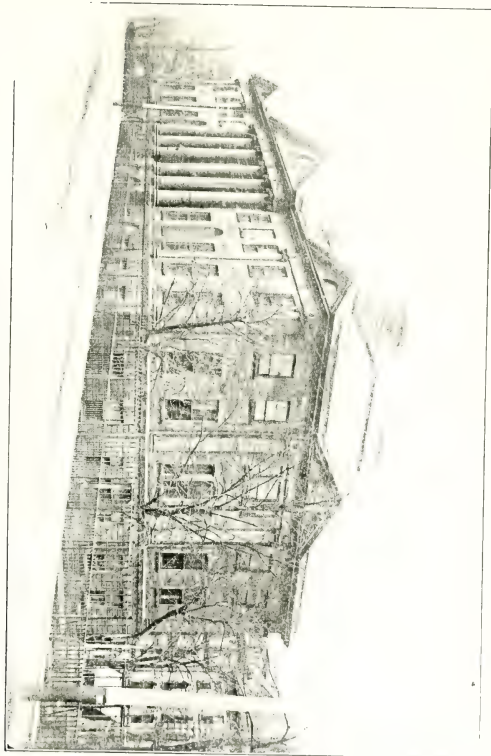
Agreeably to the adjournment, the Assembly resumed its sittings on February 1st. 1759. On the 17th. of April it was prorogued until August 1st. The business transacted at this session was unimportant. Towards its close a joint Committee of the Council and Assembly chose the town offices for Halifax, viz: four overseers of the poor, two clerks of market, four surveyors of highways, two fence viewers and two hogreaves.— The second session of the Assembly opened on August 1st. 1759. William Nesbitt was chosen speaker. It passed a few bills, including one to establish a work house, another to maintain the light house at Sambro. Within a fortnight it was dissolved. The first Nova Scotia Assembly passed into history.

The Governor and Council, in view of the election rendered necessary by the dissolution of the Assembly, undertook, it would seem greatly in excess of their powers to revise the constituencies. The number of members was increased from nineteen to twenty-two. These were located as follows:

Each of the five counties—Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis	
Kings and Cumberland, 2 members,-----	10
The towns of Lunenburg, Horton and Cumberland, two each----	8
The town of Halifax-----	4
	—
	22

The first session of the second Assembly began 4th. December 1759. The Provost-Marshall returned the following as members duly elected: William Nesbitt, Henry Newton, Malichy Salter, Jonathan Binney, John Burbidge, Benjamin Gerrish, Joseph Scot, Capt. Chas. Procter, Michael Francklin, Arch Hinshelwood, Sebastian Zoulerboulter, Philip Knaut, Jonathan Hoar, Isaac Deschamps, Erasmus J.

PROVING LAB. BUILDING.



Phillips, John Newton, Winckworth Tonge, Simon Slocomb, Col. Joseph Frye, John Huston.

William Nesbitt was chosen speaker. The Governor congratulated the house and Council on the fall of Quebec. "That barbarous metropolis from whence his good subjects of this province and the King's other American Dominions have groaned under such continual and unpardonable wrongs." The Assembly taking the same view as the governor in their reply to the address refer to "Canada" as "the mother and nurse of the most cruel, savage enemies to these his Majesty's American Colonies." The question having been put, whether any money should be voted to the members of the House for their service during the present session, it was unanimously resolved in the negative, and they will not put their constituents to any charge for their attendance. In this, it is but just to the first Assembly to state, they followed the example of their predecessors. The accounts showed an expenditure of 3,820 pounds, fourteen shillings and eleven pence on public works. The largest item was for the light house at Sambro, 987.55 pounds and five shillings, followed by further items for same of 452 pounds, 10 shillings, 5 pence and 635 pounds, 6 shillings, the church, meeting house, and gaol figure for lesser sums. This may be called the sickly session of our legislature. There were three adjournments, two of a fortnight, and one three weeks each owing to "the illness and relapse of sick members." The session closed on March 20th.

The second session of the second Assembly of Nova Scotia opened on September 8th with Nesbitt still in the Speaker's chair and Deschamps at the clerk's desk. The House refused to pass a divorce bill, but enacted within the space of three weeks not less than twenty measures of importance. Among these may be mentioned the provision of a class of officers known as Commissioners of Sewers, needful then and ever since in the marsh-land districts of the Province. The department of public works continued to be tasked by the demands made upon it by claimants, light-house, workhouse, church, meeting house, and gaol figuring as before. This session extending over but three weeks much exceeds in brevity any in our legislative annals.

The first item in Pitt's North American programme for the summer of 1759 was the attack on Quebec which had been held over from the previous year for lack of time. This delay enabled the "great Commoner" to reorganize his American staff, both military and naval, in the light of recent experiences at Ticonderoga and Louisburg. Abercrombie's humiliating reverse at the former place naturally led to his retirement from the post of Commander-in-Chief. In this he was succeeded by General Jeffery Amherst, who had to his credit the capture of the great Cape Breton fortress, and who, without any pretence to brilliancy was held in esteem for sound judgment and undoubted courage. The armament designed for operations against Quebec was placed under the supreme and exclusive leadership of the youngest of the three brigadiers who had fought under Amherst at Louisburg, James Wolfe. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders was placed in charge of the fleet, of whose services it has been said that "it is scarcely possible to find a better example of professional skill, devotion to duty, loyalty, and hopeful co-operation in a common effort, than in the assistance rendered Wolfe by the navy in the operations of the siege."

The brigadiers under Wolfe were Moncton, Townshend, and Murray. Moncton, the senior officer of the three, was the Colonel Robert Moncton, who had received the surrender of Fort Beauséjour from de Vergor, and had held the isthmus of Chignecto during and after the Expulsion. His experience was wide and his ability undoubted. Wolfe found in him a most loyal and devoted supporter. As much can be said of James Murray, another highly esteemed associate of Wolfe's at Louisburg. No member of the staff attained such distinguished honors as awaited Murray. He figures in history as the first Governor-General of Canada after the pacification of 1763. A mystery attends the appointment of Townshend, the remaining brigadier; that is if the common statement is correct that Wolfe was permitted to select his own subordinates. Otherwise the appointment of so weak a man might be ascribed to court favor, nepotism, or some other unworthy influence. All the same, with Wolfe dead and Moncton severely wounded, he became Commander-in-Chief at Quebec.

SIEGE OF QUÉBEC.

It devolved on General Amherst as Commander-in-Chief, to direct such preparations in America as were necessary in the interests of the proposed siege of Quebec. Accordingly in March, 1759, he wrote to Lawrence in Halifax, informing him that orders had been received from England to the effect that all seasoned soldiers within his command should rendezvous at Louisburg not later than the 21st of April,—to be replaced in the various depleted garrisons by fresh levies from New England. How this intelligence was received by the troops thus suddenly called to exchange the dreary garrison life they were leading for actual service under such a leader as Wolfe, can be learned from Captain Knox's "Historical Journals of the campaign of North America, for the years 1757, 59 and 1760." After describing Captain Knox of the forty-third regiment and some of his comrades as having "spent the winter in garrison at Fort Cumberland, on the hill of Beauséjour," and as having been "for nearly two years exiles amid the wilds of Nova Scotia with the marsh of Tantemmar on the one side, and that of Misisquash on the other," Parkman, thus summarises a few sentences from the Captain's journal: "About the middle of April a schooner came up the bay, bringing letters that filled men and officers with delight. The regiment was ordered to hold itself ready to embark for Louisburg, and join an expedition to the Saint Lawrence, under command of Major-General Wolfe. All that afternoon the soldiers were shouting and cheering in their barracks; and when they mustered for the evening roll-call, there was another burst of hurrahs. They waited in expectancy for nearly three weeks, and then the transports which were to carry them arrived, bringing the provincials who had been hastily raised in New England to take their place. * * * At last the forty-third set sail, the cannon of the fort saluting them, and the soldiers cheering lustily, overjoyed to escape from their long imprisonment."

How the news was received by Governor Lawrence himself is another matter. Whatever criticisms some features of his civil admin-

istration may have provoked, whatever censure his policy of Acadian deportation may have deserved, Charles Lawrence was every inch a soldier. On no field had he failed to do credit to British valor. While not given such opportunity to distinguish himself at Louisburg, as fell to the lot of Wolfe, his work there was done faithfully and well, as testified to by Armstrong himself, and as known to Wolfe in person. He had offered his sword to the King and confidently counted on at least a brigadiership under the new arrangement. He had been permitted to share in the glory of Louisburg, why was he to be debarred from sharing in the greater glory which awaited the conquerors of Quebec? Armstrong, who might have applied Lawrence's reasoning to his own case, represented that Pitt and Wolfe in deciding to leave the governor at Halifax were simply having regard to the vital interests of Nova Scotia. The province needed at its head a man of affairs, of sound judgment, and great executive capacity. It would be taking great risk for the governor to leave, with such important questions pending as the proposed legislative experiment and the settlement of the evacuated lands. Besides, the absence might be a long one. The capture of such a stronghold as Quebec would not be the work of a day.

Pitt's administration of affairs was characterized by the promptitude and resistless energy with which his purposes were carried out. It was his good fortune to have serving under his general superintendency in the campaign against Quebec lieutenants inspired with a large measure of his own spirit. Saunders received his appointment on the 8th of January. On the 14th of February, the fleet, seventy sail in all, weighed anchor for Louisburg. February and March are stormy months on the North Atlantic, so that it was towards the end of April, when the coast of Cape Breton was sighted. Louisburg harbor, the appointed rendezvous of the main expedition and of the vessels bringing re-inforcements from New England and New York, was still blocked with ice. During the enforced delay of a fortnight or so, Halifax harbor afforded the whole fleet an abundance of sheltered sea room, while Lawrence dispensed to his old comrades generous hospitality. "I was particularly happy," wrote the governor to Pitt, "in the satisfaction Major General Wolfe expressed, on his

arrival, in the preparations made for the expedition under his command."

From Halifax, Vice-Admiral Durell—who died in Halifax some three or four years afterward—was despatched on May 4th, with a squadron of ten ships to intercept at Isle aux Coudres, about sixty miles below Quebec, a fleet of French transports and store ships on their way from France with reinforcements and supplies. With three exceptions these vessels eluded Durell and got safe to port. On the 13th of May, Wolfe and Saunders with the main expedition sailed for Louisburg, reaching there on the 18th. Loose ice along the coast delayed the arrival of the New England quota, so that the fleet, in full readiness for the grand assault, did not finally lose sight of land until June 6th.

The story of the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, if told at all, should be told in full. We omit it, therefore, altogether. The fate of North America was determined by a stroke of genius, or rather perhaps by fortune favoring a venture so bold and hazardous as almost to come under the reproach of rashness. Montcalm can be said to have been outgeneralled, only because the leader against whom he was pitted was no ordinary man. With a foe afraid to take a risk, his position was impregnable. A common shaft perpetuates the glorious memories of Wolfe and Montcalm.¹

As to the cost to England of this great achievement, Captain John Knox who himself was in the thickest of the fight, thus comments in his journal: "Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other (land) can boast of.—General James Wolfe, who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg." The journal has the following footnote: "Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the officers into whose hands

Wolfe

Mortem virtus communem
Fama historia
Monumentum Posteritas
Dedit.

Montcalm

¹ "Valor gave them a common death; history, a common fame; posterity, a common monument."

he fell; and many from a vanity of talking, claimed the honor of being his supporters after he was wounded. * Lieutenant Brown of the grenadiers of Louisburg and the twenty-second regiment, who with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company, and a private man were the three persons who carried his Excellency to the river; which an artillery officer seeing immediately flew to his assistance, and these were all that attended him in his dying moments. *I do not recollect the artillery officer's name or it should be cheerfully recorded.*²

ACADIANS STILL REGARDED AS ENEMIES.

For several years after the Expulsion, indeed until the French rule in America was brought to a definite end by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, all Acadians within the Province stood on the footing of public enemies. In the peninsula and contiguous districts

* According to the Dictionary of National Biography this "artillery officer" was Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres, author of the *Atlantic Neptune*, and who having, as soldier, hydrographer, and civil ruler, devoted his long life down to his ninetieth year to the service of Britain and her Colony, died, upwards of one hundred and two years old, at Halifax in the year 1824. It is not known on what authority the writer of the biographical sketch (Robert Hamilton) bases this identification of Des Barres with the artillery officer in whose arms Wolfe died. It is certain that he was at the siege and that he was there in command of a company organized by himself in the Southern colonies; but the biographical sketch is an error in assigning to him the post of *Vice-de-camp* to Wolfe.

It is interesting to know that at Quebec an intimate friendship grew up between Des Barres and James Cook, the celebrated circumnavigator. Cook was on the *St. Lawrence* as Master of the *Meteor*, employed during the summer in surveying the channel of the river and in piloting the boats and vessels of the fleet. Des Barres, whose hydrographical knowledge, at that time at least, much surpassed Cook's, gave the latter useful instruction in the science and art of maritime surveying. After the siege, Lord Colville was ordered with a fleet of four ships to spend the winter at Halifax. In some way Cook had attracted the attention of the Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, who on his sailing to England with the main fleet, advised Lord Colville to put him as master on his flagship, the *Northumberland*. Cook spent the following winter (1759-60) in Halifax, "applying himself to the study of mathematics, with it is said, singularly good results, and certainly attained a sound, practical knowledge of astronomical navigation." For seven consecutive years thereafter Cook was "in the surveyor of the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. For ten years (1763-1773) Des Barres surveyed the coasts of the greater Nova Scotia and was afterwards called on to prepare charts of the entire North American Ocean front. The whole work occupied six or seven years. The result was the *Atlantic Neptune*, "the most elaborate collection of charts, plans, or views ever published."

"the escaped remnant" was too small to cause much account to be taken of it, especially after the blow of 1755 had been followed up by one or two minor deportations of an almost equally summary character. Farther north, the refugees from Chignecto gave some trouble. They strengthened the hands of the wily French General Boishebert, who glided through the forests with a conglomerate force, Canadian, Acadian and Indian, and through the operation of the well-known *omne ignotum pro magifico* principle, inspired terror out of all proportion to his real power to injure. But this state of affairs could not last long. The final and total eclipse of French power in America was fast drawing on. Grave exigencies at home obliged the Canadian Government to recall its troops, who were accompanied on their return by numbers of their Acadian allies. Others of the latter fled to St. Pierre and the Magdalen Islands, while still larger bodies tendered their submission to the authorities at Halifax, whence many of them drifted off to various parts of the world. Then events developed with great rapidity. Louisburg and Quebec, the French strongholds of the East, fell in swift succession, and a few years later the Treaty of Paris, while proclaiming the final triumph of English arms, opened up the way for the complete reconciliation of the rival races.

The problem devolving on those who had the destinies of Nova Scotia at their disposal was how most quickly and wisely to people the depopulated province. On this point a sharp conflict of opinion developed between the Imperial authorities on the one hand and Lawrence and his Council on the other. The former took the ground that the proper course was to locate on the deserted lands the soldiers of disbanded regiments. Still more strenuously and resolutely Lawrence maintained that New England farmers constituted the most desirable class from which to obtain cultivators of the now abandoned soil. The following is Lawrence's argument against military settlement:

"I beg leave to observe to your Lordships," he said, "that besides their transportation, such settlers must be furnished with provisions for one year at least, with materials and tools for building, implements for husbandry, and cattle to stock their lands, for sol-

diers, who have nothing of their own to set out with, will necessary be in want of every thing in the beginning. I fear that the difficulty of forming them into societies will be great, that the undertaking will be excessively expensive to the Crown, and that will prove abortive. Accordingly to my ideas of the military, which I offer with all possible deference and submission, they are the least qualified, from their occupation as soldiers, of any men living to establish a new country, where they must encounter difficulties with which they are altogether unacquainted. I am the rather convinced of it, as every soldier that has come into the Province, since the establishment of Halifax, has either quitted it or become a dramseller. If my opinion were to have any weight in the matter of such importance, I would humbly offer it to your Lordship's consideration; whether, in the event of the disbanded military being left in America, it would be more advisable to establish them in the neighborhood of the old Colonies, where, if they cannot thrive and do well in one way, they may find means of supporting themselves in another."

Lawrence pressed his views to a practical conclusion, not awaiting the formal sanction of the Ministry. He issued proclamations negotiated with delegates from intending New England immigrants, and issued grants on his own responsibility. On August 1st, 1759, the Board of Trade sent a dispatch sharply reprimanding him for such precipitate and unwarranted action. At the date of the dispatch, Connecticut and Rhode Island settlements had already been established at Horton and Falmouth. The Governor tried to excuse himself by reference to former letters from the Board, but admitted that their last previous dispatch instructed him to transmit his plans of settlement for His Majesty's approval. He claimed that he did not understand this to be an absolute injunction against granting land. Further he argued that if it should be decided in the future to make grants after the peace to officers and soldiers retired from the service an abundance of land for carrying out this purpose was still left on the River St. John and at Petitcodiac, Memramcook, Shepody, Shediac, Tatamagouche, Mirimichi, Bay Verte and part of Chignecto, equal in fertility and convenience to the places already granted.

For detailed information concerning the settlement affected under Lawrence's plans, reference may be had to County Histories which cover most of the area in question. It is purposed here to give a general view of the work of settlement, the credit of which may be fairly claimed for Lawrence.

The settlement during the years 1759-61 of a large part of Nova Scotia, and that as a rule the more fertile part, by groups of colonists from New England, is one of the most important events in the history of our province. Until recently, this event has unquestionably not received the attention due to its importance. As a movement of population from west to east it was a reversal of the usual order, and has quite generally been confounded with the Loyalist migration to the Provinces, which it preceded nearly a quarter of a century, and which in influence on the political and industrial development of what is *now* Nova Scotia it undoubtedly surpassed. This misconception is sometimes found affecting the minds even of direct descendants of the early New England settlers themselves. Another somewhat prevalent illusion has been that the stay of most of the latter in Nova Scotia was brief, and that but little in the way of a permanent settlement was effected. Nothing could be farther from the truth. One of two townships, on, or near, the Chignecto Isthmus were somewhat affected in the matter of population by the events of the Revolutionary War, but as a rule, this element has been the most tenacious of all our English speaking stocks.

The removal by force of the Acadian French from the Territory which that race had occupied for nearly a century and a half left, as we have seen the Province with a European population practically limited to the Town of Halifax and the German settlement of Lunenburg. This state of things is brought into bold relief in the long and earnest correspondence between Governor Lawrence and the Lords of Trade and Plantation on the question of organizing a Legislative Assembly, and is particularly emphasized by the expedient ultimately resorted to in 1758, of electing sixteen (out of a total of twenty-two) members from the Province at large. This was simply the result of a scarcity of constituencies. A proposal to dignify by that name the blockhouses at Annapolis and Chebucto, and two or

three insignificant hamlets in the neighborhood of Halifax, was entertained for a time, but was finally laid aside. As the six members assigned to definite constituencies were divided between Halifax and Lunenburg in the proportion of four to two, the former place had really the honor of supplying ten-elevenths of the first Nova Scotia Assembly.

The organization of representative government, whatever anomalies it involved, had an undoubted effect in promoting the success of certain negotiations which Lawrence has had for some time on foot looking to the settlement of the vacated Acadian lands by colonists from New England. It is well known that the New England element at Halifax chafed under the irresponsible rule of the Governor and Council (though it does not appear that the rule itself was essentially harsh or inequitable), and originated the agitation for a duly constituted legislature, which finally proved irresistible. It is somewhat surprising that Lawrence, who opposed the establishment of the legislature as long and as stoutly as he could, did not himself see that the triumph of his own views would effectually preclude any extensive immigration from the westward. His voice became potential only when he was able to give definite assurances that the settlers would find in the new colony political institutions substantially similar to their own.

On the 2nd of October, 1758, the first Assembly met, and on the 12th of that month, the Council issued the well-known proclamation which invited immigration to Nova Scotia by the alluring assurances that "one hundred thousand acres of intervale plow lands, producing wheat, rye, barley, hemp, flax, etc., which have been cultivated for more than a hundred years past and never fail of crops nor need manuring," and "also more than one hundred thousand acres of upland, cleared and stocked, with English grass, planted with orchards, gardens, etc.," and "situated about the Bay of Fundy upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen," were awaiting the choice of settlers. There was undoubtedly an element of exaggeration in these representations. All the marsh lands on the Bay of Fundy and its tributaries do not, taken together, amount to 100,000 acres, and certainly not more than one-half of them had been reclaimed and cultivated by the

Acadians. Still more hyperbolic is the reference to "ten thousand acres of upland, cleared and stocked with English grass." It is well known that the inroads of the French on the forests were exceedingly limited. The great bulk of their crops was raised on the alluvial bottoms which had been cleared for them by the potent forces of nature. Who ever examined the site of one of the old Acadian villages that did not find it situated on the margin of the dyke lands on which the people depended for their means of living, or of an old Acadian road which did not run along the same? In this particular affirmation the Proclamation at least quadrupled the actual fact.¹ But we must remember that to this day, immigration agencies do not aim at absolute accuracy of statement. Figurative amplification is considered one of their most natural and proper characteristics. Nor does there appear to have been anything intentionally misleading in the arithmetical exaggerations of the Proclamation. Good land there was, and an abundance of it, a fact to which many a New Englander who had served at Louisburg or Beaubassin or who had run trading ventures up the Chiganois or the Pisiquid, could positively testify in answer to any inquiry from fellow colonists into whose hands the Proclamation might fall.

A second proclamation, issued under date of January 11, 1759, supplied information regarding points of importance on which the former one had failed to utter a voice sufficiently clear. Persons thinking of settlement were fully informed as to the conditions on which lands might be taken up and a permanent title to them acquired. The political and judicial institutions of the colony were described, and to all dissenters from the Church of England, except Roman Catholics², the amplest assurances of religious liberty were given on the faith of legislative enactments and "His Majesty's instructions."

¹Haliburton, uniting adjectives generally regarded as incompatible, refers to the description given in the Proclamation as "battering, but faithful."

²Concerning the date of this proclamation, the exception noted is not accurate. Great Britain and most of her colonies were under the shadow of the penal laws. It is, however, a fact deserving of record that those who had insisted on guarantees of religious liberty for themselves showed no disposition to enslave the consciences of others. From the earliest organization of government in Nova Scotia, Roman Catholics, though laboring under certain civil disabilities, seem to have enjoyed as free an exercise of their religion as others. The public opinion which would not tolerate any other state of things received

The assurances of this second proclamation naturally tended to inspire confidence, and the persistent efforts of Lawrence to re-people Acadia with settlers from the American colonies at length began to bear fruit. On the 27th of May, 1750, a company of substantial yeomen from Connecticut, including, with their families, several hundred persons, received grants of large tracts of land on the Basin of Minas. From that date Minas and Canard, names of two of the most flourishing of the old Acadian settlements have been replaced by Horton and Cornwallis. A few months later, a large part of the ancient Pisiquid, embracing districts on both sides of the tidal river or estuary of the same name, passed, under the designation of Falmouth, to a body of Rhode Island grantees. Within a year of its settlement, the township was divided, the part on the eastern bank of the Pisiquid (now the Avon) receiving the name of Newport, not, as has been generally supposed, from former association of the inhabitants with Newport, Rhode Island, but at the suggestion of Mr. Morris, Surveyor-General of the Province to honor Lord Newport, a particular friend of Chief Justice Belcher.¹

Settlers rapidly poured in from Massachusetts and New Hampshire as well as from the colonies already named, and organized townships were soon founded on the site of all the principal Acadian settlements. Nor did the stream of immigration end at those points. So early as the autumn of 1764 it had reached a number of places, now important centres of population, where the Acadian influence had never made itself felt.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENT.

The New England townships, i. e. townships wholly or chiefly from New England were found extending from Cape Sable (Barr-

a great accession of strength from the spirit of the early settlers from New England. The Legislature of 1837, which passed the earliest Catholic Emancipation Act, was largely composed of their grandsons and other descendants. Thomas C. Haliburton, whose famous speech in favor of the admission of Mr. Kavanagh is historical, was grandson of one of the original Rhode Island grantees of Newport, and not of loyalist descent, as frequently stated.

¹This statement is made on the authority of a letter from Morris to Isaac Deschamps, of Fort Edward (Windsor). The letter, which is dated March 31st, 1761, is in the Deschamps collection of MSS. in the Provincial archives.

ington) to a point on the St. John River not far below the present City of Fredericton. Roughly they may be divided into two classes—the one embracing the settlements in the central agricultural districts, mainly resting on the basis of previous Acadian cultivation—the other, settlements on the shore at points favorable for fishing and for maritime ventures generally. The three townships on, and north of, the Isthmus of Chignecto, which were settled from New England, belonged of course to the former group. These were Cumberland, Sackville and Mauderville. A small part (the ridge of land now known as Fort Lawrence) of Cumberland is in the present Province of Nova Scotia, lying as it does to the south of the Missisquoi River. This township, settled from various colonies, lost a large part of its American population at the time of the Revolutionary War. Its present inhabitants are largely descendants of the Yorkshire Settlers of 1772-4. Sackville was settled in 1761 by a colony from Rhode Island, supplemented in 1768 by the total membership of a small Baptist Church in Swansea, Massachusetts, which emigrated thither under the leadership of its pastor, the Rev. Nathaniel Mason. After an eight years' sojourn in Nova Scotia, most of the latter element returned to Massachusetts. Benjamin Mason, brother of the clergyman just named, was the first member for the township of Sackville in the Legislature of Nova Scotia. Sackville, like Cumberland, and the isthmus generally, received a large accession of population from the Yorkshire immigration which occurred a few years subsequently. Mauderville (pronounced Majorville) and Sheffield, are now two contiguous parishes in the County of Sunbury, N. B. The latter is the name originally given to the settlement which was founded in 1761 by a company from Rowley, Massachusetts. The name Mauderville, here applied to the whole settlement, was no doubt derived from that of Joshua Mauder, a prominent trader of Halifax, who probably had a business outpost in the vicinity of Sheffield.

The following townships in the Peninsula belong to the first class, as being of distinctively New England origin and colonised for agricultural purposes—all of them occupying territory cultivated by the Acadian French. Annapolis, Granville, Cornwallis, Lunenburg,

Horton and Newport. Even now the great bulk of their inhabitants can trace back their ancestry to the first settlers from New England. Several other townships, though not so exclusively settled by immigrants from the older colonies, nevertheless embraced a very considerable New England element in their population. One, Onslow, has good reason to claim a place in the list just given. The original grantees of this township were almost wholly residents of New England, but for various reasons many of them never settled in the Province, and their lands were re-granted to immigrants from the North of Ireland, whose descendants now probably constitute the larger part of the inhabitants. An appreciable, if not controlling, New England element obtained locations on old Acadian sites at Amherst, Truro and Windsor.

The peninsular townships constituting the second group, in the founding of which little or no advantage was taken of former Acadian occupation, were all situated on the Southwestern coast of the Province, and embraced the townships of Yarmouth, Barrington, Liverpool and Chester. The settlers of these townships came with scarcely any exceptions from the Nantucket and Cape Cod districts of the Colony of Massachusetts, and, save Chester, they are still mainly peopled by descendants of the original families. These places are marked by the tenacity with which the family names associated with their primary settlement have perpetuated themselves. With Chester (originally Shoreham) the case has been quite different. A number of the New England families at a comparatively early period withdrew to other parts of the Province. Their place was taken by a substantial contingent of Loyalists in 1784, and the township has since been impregnated with a large German element from the neighboring settlement of Lunenburg.

In the same class with Chester may be placed the contiguous township of (New) Dublin. It was granted in 1760 to a number of persons in Connecticut, but few of whom actually settled on their lands, and of these few the greater part remained but for a short time. The lands were generally re-granted to Germans from the neighboring township of Lunenburg. From the latter the present

population of the district, which is one of the most prosperous and thickly peopled in the Province, is almost wholly derived.

In his efforts to obtain inhabitants for Nova Scotia, Governor Lawrence did not confine his attention solely to the American colonies. The negotiations which led to the settlement of Truro had brought him into contact with Alexander McNutt, a native of Ireland, but who for some years previously had been in America, dividing his time apparently between Pennsylvania, where large bodies of his countrymen had settled, and Londonderry, New Hampshire, to which place I have already referred. From this source came the suggestion of looking to the Province of Ulster for an additional supply of settlers on whose thrift and loyalty the government could confidently rely. Lawrence's untimely death did not permit him to see the success with which the project was ultimately crowned. McNutt undertook a personal visit to Ireland as an accredited agent of the government, and on October 9, 1761, landed at Halifax with upwards of 300 settlers, for whom temporary quarters were provided on what is now McNab's Island. A few of these remained in Halifax, but by the following spring the great majority had obtained grants of land in various parts of the Province. The largest body settling in one place had founded the important township of Londonderry—the rural parts of which are still almost exclusively peopled by their descendants. Considerable numbers joined their countrymen from New Hampshire and other New England points who had already settled in Truro and Onslow.

On Friday, 17th August, 1759, the Governor and Messrs. Belcher, Green, Collier, Morris, Bulkeley, Saul and Gerrish, attending in council, the province was divided into five counties—Annapolis, King's, Cumberland, Lunenburg and Halifax. The boundaries of Annapolis County beginning at a mile north of the harbor commonly called and known by the name of Cape Forchu harbor; thence to run East 34 degrees North, on the true meridian lines, and to measure 77 miles; and thence North 34 degrees West to the Bay of Fundy. King's bounded westerly by the County of Annapolis, and of the same width, and from the Southeasterly corner of said county to run East 24 degrees North, to the lake commonly called Long lake, emptying

into Pisiquid river, and thence continuing near the same course to the river Chibenaccadie, opposite to the mouth of the river Stewiack; thence up said river ten miles, and thence Northerly to Tatmaguash, and from Tatmaguash, westerly, to the river Solier, where it discharges into the channel of Chignecto. Cumberland to consist of all the lands in the province of Nova Scotia lying North of King's county. Lunenburg, beginning at a brook at the bottom of Mahone bay, and on the easterly head thereof, and thence to run northerly till it meets the lake called Long lake, and to be bounded Easterly by the said lake, and northwesterly by the county of Annapolis and King's county southwesterly by the river Rosignol and Port Senior, and southeasterly by the sea shore to the first limits, comprising all the islands southward of the same. That the county of Halifax comprises all the main land and islands lying easterly of the county of Lunenburg, and southerly and easterly of King's county; and all the other lands and islands within the province of Nova Scotia, etc., August 22. The Council, in consequence of the dissolution of the late assembly, which, as already stated, took place on 13th August, and the time approaching for calling a new one, resolved that there should be elected 22 members, viz:

For the Township of Halifax-----	4
For the towns of Lunenburg, Annapolis, Horton and Cumberland, 2 each -----	8
For counties of Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis, Kings and Cumberland, 2 each-----	10
	—
	22

Eleven besides the speaker to be necessary to do business. Voters to have 40s. freehold in the town or county for which they vote. Popish recusants and minors under 21 not to vote. The returning officer not to be eligible. State oaths, test and qualification oaths, were prescribed. The provost marshal to appoint deputies to hold the elections. Freeholders of King's county not yet settled, may vote at Halifax. Several other regulations were added, and the writs were to be made returnable on 20th November next.

REPORT OF EX-GOVERNOR BELCHER ON THE EARLIEST NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS.

In a report, which his Honor President Belcher made to the Board of Trade, dated the 12th December, 1760, these infant settlements are thus described: "I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships that the townships of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth are so well established that everything bears a most hopeful appearance; as soon as these Townships were laid out by the Surveyor, palisaded forts were erected in each of them by order of the late Governor, with room to secure all the inhabitants, who were formed into a militia, to join what troops could be spared to oppose any attempts that might be formed against them by Indian tribes, which had not then surrendered, and bodies of French inhabitants who were hovering about the Country. After the necessary business, the proper season coming on, they were employed in gathering hay for winter. One thousand tons were provided for Horton, five hundred for Cornwallis, and six hundred for Falmouth, and about this time they put some corn and roots into the ground, and began to build their houses. In the month of August the late Governor having returned from Liverpool, made a journey into these settlements, where after having regulated several matters, the great objects of his attention were the dykes, of which the breach made in that of the river Canard, in the township of Cornwallis, as it was the greatest, was his first care. For this purpose the inhabitants, with their cattle and carriages, together with those hired from Horton, at their own expense, were joined with some of the provincial troops and Acadians, who were best acquainted with works of this kind, to make a collection of the necessary materials to repair the breach. A considerable quantity was accordingly got ready, when the inundation usual at this time of the year, put a stop to the work for this season. However, the materials are all secured against the next undertaking, and care was immediately taken to protect as much of the dykes in this and the neighboring townships, as would inclose land sufficient to raise bread

(21)

corn for them the next year, except in Falmouth, where the upland is in very good condition for that purpose.

"The late Governor having observed how necessary it was, that a good road should be made from Halifax into these settlements, immediately on his return ordered all the troops, that could be spared from duty, to be employed on this work, beginning at Fort Sackville. It was at this time very difficult to be passed in many places, on account of swamps and broken bridges, but it has since been finished so as to become a good horse road, by which it will be an easy day's journey in the summer time thence into the settlements. The greatest part of the expense attending this, will be defrayed out of a sum of money appropriated from a seizure of molasses.

"Many of the inhabitants are rich and in good circumstances. About one hundred have transported themselves and their effects, at their own expense, and are very well able to provide for their own support. As to the poorer sort, there is provision made for them, until the month of next August. In the township of Liverpool, they are now employed in building three vessels for the fishery, and have laid in hay for the winter fodder of their cattle, and have raised a considerable quantity of roots and erected a grist and saw mill. They have sixteen sail of fishing schooners, and although several of them came late in the season, they have cured near five hundred quintal of fish; the principal Owners of which are gone back to the Continent, to dispose of it, and will return in the Spring for a further supply of stock for their lands. From these circumstances I flatter myself, your Lordships will entertain a favorable opinion of this settlement. In regard to the townships of Annapolis and Granville, about thirty proprietors are settled in each; as they came late in the year, they did not bring all their families, but are preparing against their arrival in the Spring, at which time the rest of the proprietors are expected—of the townships of Chester and Dublin, as they did not contract early in the year, but a few proprietors are yet come to each of them; however, persons of considerable substance are engaged in them, who are making preparations to come to their lands, as early in the next year as the season will permit. In the engagements entered into for carrying on the settlements, no prom-

ises were made of transportation or corn, to any but the grantees of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth, and although the latter grantees have readily and cheerfully engaged themselves, yet they pleaded much for such encouragements, and have found themselves greatly obstructed for want of these advantages. As the perfect establishment of the settlements depends in a very great degree on the repairs of the dykes, for the security of the marsh lands, from whence the support of the inhabitants will become easy and plentiful, necessary measures for effecting this great point have been fully considered, and I humbly conceive that the dykes may be put into very good condition, ~~if~~ with your Lordships' approbation, one hundred of the French inhabitants may be employed in different parts of the Province, to assist and instruct in their repairs, the new settlers having come from a country in which no such works are wanting. I must not omit to mention to your Lordships, that the settlement of Lunenburg, is in a very thriving condition, and that none are in want there except the sickly and infirm."

You will perceive I have not noticed the division of the Province, which took place in 1784 or 5, when the line was drawn from Cumberland to the Baie Verte, leaving the former and all to the North of it in the newly created Province of New Brunswick, on which lands the loyalists had generally settled.

If aught which I have communicated may in any degree prove useful to your work my feelings will be gratified. I give you thanks for having recalled to my mind transactions which were nearly obliterated, but being awakened, may be the means of producing some good to the poor Acadians who still remain in the Providences, and they may have cause to bless you for recording their sufferings.

Governor Lawrence formally closed the Legislative Session of 1760 on the 27th of September. This was his last public function. On the 11th of October a chill, said to have been due to the re-action of a draught of cold water on a system overheated by the atmosphere and activity of a ball-room, brought on an attack of pneumonia which, within little more than a week laid low the most capable and virile of all Nova Scotia's early governors. According to precedent, Chief Justice Belcher as the senior councillor assumed the reins of

government. Appended to the proclamation of the new order of things which appeared in the next day's *Gazette* was the following tribute to Lawrence:

DEATH OF GOVERNOR LAWRENCE.

"Governor Charles Lawrence was possessed of every natural endowment and acquired accomplishment necessary to adorn the most exalted station, and every amicable quality that could promote the sweets of friendship and social intercourse of life. As Governor, he exerted his uncommon abilities with unwearied application, and the most disinterested zeal in projecting and executing every useful design that might render the province and its rising settlements flourishing and happy. He encouraged the industrious, rewarded the deserving, excited the indolent, protected the oppressed and relieved the needy. His affability and masterly address endeared him to all ranks of people, and a peculiar greatness of soul made him superior to vanity, envy, avarice or revenge. In him Halifax and the Province have lost the guide and guardian of their interests. The reflection in the good he has done, the anticipations of great things still expected from such merits and circumstances, which, while they redound to his honor, aggravate the sense of our irreparable misfortune."

Lawrence was honored with a magnificent public funeral. The Legislature at its next session provided for the payment of the funeral expenses from the public funds and also voted that a monument be erected over his burial place in St. Paul's Church at Halifax, doing so "from a grateful sense of the many important services which the province has received from him during a continued course of zealous and indefatigable endeavor for the public good and a wise, upright and disinterested administration."

In regard to the monument the Reverend Dr. Hill in his *History of St. Paul's Church*¹ has the following:

"Haliburton has fallen into the mistake of stating that 'the House of Assembly caused a monument to be erected to his memory, in the Parish of St. Paul's, Halifax.' And other writers on the history of

¹ N. S. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 1.

Nova Scotia, relying on his accuracy, have repeated his error. That a vote passed the Legislature there can be no doubt, but there is no record either written or traditional that the monument was ever erected. It may have been ordered, and lost on its passage, or may never have been ordered at all; that it could have been affixed to the walls of the building, and afterwards removed, and no notice taken of such an act of sacrilege, is simply impossible. It is more than probable that Governor Lawrence was the first person interred in the church itself; certainly he is the first of whom any such record can be found."²

"Authentic tradition explains the loss. The monument, costing £80 sterling, was ordered in London and arrived in Halifax during the summer of 1762, and was affixed to the wall on the S. E. corner of the church. It was the first monument placed on the walls and was greatly admired. In April, 1768, a violent tornado swept over Halifax accompanied by snow and rain, which did great damage. Vessels were driven ashore and many sunk. The breastwork at the Dockyard was blown down. Several houses were overturned. Three of the windows of St. Paul's Church were blown in and destroyed, and the Southeast end of the Church, where the monument was situated, was badly damaged. During the necessary repairs, the monument was removed from the wall and placed with the building material in a shed near by, and from there was removed by parties unknown and thus disappeared. A report that it was carried away to Boston led to an investigation and search there, with negative results. This account came from Mr. Richard Bulkeley, Secretary of the Province, and was communicated to the late John Parker, Esq., who made many memos of the Secretary's conversation, among others, this relating to the missing monument of Governor Lawrence."

The tribute paid to Governor Lawrence's memory, in the *Gazette*, is termed by Dr. Aikins, a sincere and able apologist of the Acadian deportation, "a fulsome eulogium." It certainly required the vision

² On what authority the "authentic tradition" referred to in the following extract from an article on Sir Charles Lawrence, which appeared in Vol. 12, of the N. S. Historical Society's Collections, may rest is to us unknown.

of a very partial friend to see in Lawrence such an embodiment of the whole category of virtues and accomplishments, and many will think the writer must have had keen eyesight when he drew a picture of him as one who "protected the innocent and relieved the needy."

OPINIONS REGARDING LAWRENCE.

Haliburton's obituary notice of Lawrence is of a somewhat peculiar character. No direct protraiture of the deceased Governor is attempted. The historian carefully refrains from expressing his own opinion, contenting himself with a more or less correct representation of the opinions of others. We are simply informed that Lawrence died "deeply regretted by every individual in the Province", and that "few men ever gave so much satisfaction to the government by whom he was employed as Governor Lawrence," and that "there are still extant various communications from the Ministry acknowledging his prudence, ability and zeal."

Murdock endorses Haliburton's statements just quoted, adds brief biographical data, and closes with a pen portrait: "He won the respect and confidence as well of the authorities in England as of the settlers in this country". He was actively engaged in Chignecto and at Lunenburg, in laying the foundations of towns and villages, and after the expulsion of the Acadians was the chief mover in bringing hither the New Englanders as emigrants to repeople our western districts. In the expulsion itself he was deeply engaged, and the praise or blame of it—perhaps both—belong largely to him. He was a man inflexible in his purposes and held control in no feeble hands. Earnest and resolute he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success; and the obedience and loyalty he wished to predominate here ever since governing principles with the general body of population.

After quoting Murdock's characterisation, Campbell, the third in order of our provincial historians, expresses the opinion that "Lawrence had certainly many of the qualities necessary to constitute an able Governor; but his treatment of the Acadians was cold and unre-

lenting, if not positively cruel", and that "he might without detriment to the public services have had regard to the dictates of humanity."

Sir John Bourinot in his *Builders of Canada* has this to say of Lawrence: "Full justice has never been done to the meritorious performance of Governor Lawrence on account of the dark cloud which has rested on his name ever since the expulsion of the hapless Acadians. Yet no doubt there is something to be said in mitigation of the same sentence which posterity, largely influenced by the sentiment of pity to which poetry and romance have lent their powerful aid, have passed on to many a man who in his day did good service for the Crown and for the development of the Province committed to his care." Dr. Archibald McMechan's portraiture, drawn from the point of view of a stout vindicator of the expulsion, is as follows: "Whatever estimate may be given of Lawrence, he cannot be called either selfish, stupid or weak in will. It is the custom to denounce him as a brutal tyrant; and he was undoubtedly the most masterful spirit that ever guided the affairs of Nova Scotia. But he spent himself and his fortune in the public service; he saw clearly that without the removal of the Acadians, Nova Scotia might continue to be a British colony in name only; and seeing what he believed to be his patriotic duty, he carried it through with irresistible determination."

Nothing would be more at variance with fact than Haliburton's representation—accepted without question by Murdock—that Lawrence's administration of affairs was in the highest degree satisfactory to both the Ministry in England and to the settlers in the Province.

Between the home government and the Governor there were frequent disagreements on important points, and the friction, which began shortly after his induction, though intermittent, continued until the time of his death. Sometimes, whether deservedly or not, a sharp rebuke was administered to one who certainly liked to have his own way.

By his "Instructions" the Governor of the newly constituted Province of Nova Scotia had been authorised to appoint a Council of twelve persons and to summon a General Assembly" according to the usage of the rest of the colonies and plantations in America." After these steps should be taken it would become his duty "with the advice

and consent of the Council and Assembly to make, constitute and ordain laws" for the right government of the people. To the first named of these prescribed duties Cornwallis attended without delay. Before a tree had been felled on the shore, the first Nova Scotia Council under the new order of things sat and deliberated around the historic table¹ in the cabin of the *Sphynx*. The Governor and Council proceeded at once to issue and promulgate bye-laws, edicts, and regulation, some of which seemed to approximate in character "Laws" that required the concurrent action of an Assembly.

The early Governors, Cornwallis, Hopkins and Lawrence himself took a common-sense view of the situation. An Assembly at that inchoate stage was an absurdity, if not an impossibility. The constitutional requirement of one must be interpreted according to the principles of reason and common sense. An Assembly, obviously presupposing constituencies, is out of the question when the whole population of the Province is limited to a few thousand so-called settlers, many of whom are mere "birds of passage." An Assembly, then, being an impossibility, some temporary means for keeping society from lapsing into disorder and anarchy must be adopted. The means resorted to was the assumption by the Governor and Council of at least quasi-legislative powers.

After this *modus vivendi* had kept things together for four or five years, not without considerable remonstrance from parties who for various reasons clamored for an Assembly, the newly appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Joathan Belcher, decided that the Governor and Council had transcended their legal powers in many of the enactments. This decision meant that an Assembly was constitutionally requisite not merely to provide for the future, but to heal the mistakes of the past. But Lawrence—the governorship was now in his hands—was not disposed to yield just yet. Though the Crown lawyers confirmed Belcher's decision, from whatever motive, natural love of power, unwillingness to gratify personal enemies who were pressing for an Assembly just because he opposed one, or a sincere conviction of the impolicy of organising a fully fledged legislature system for so small and crude a community—he began to play for

¹This table is still in use in the executive Council Chamber at Halifax.

time. He raised objections and interposed obstructions. By skilful fencing he kept his controversial correspondence with the Ministry going for nearly four years. It does not appear that during this period Nova Scotia suffered any serious loss from the lack of an Assembly.

Meantime the Assembly question had become involved with one of perhaps equally great moment. The vacated Acadian lands loudly called for resettlement. The forests were beginning to show again in what had been cultivated upland fields, and the tides had flowed in upon the marshes through the broken dykes. The policy of the Ministry was to locate disbanded soldiers, as fast as opportunity allowed, on all these deserted areas. This would give the discharged veterans a chance to earn a living, and more important still, prevent them from being a trouble to other people. With this proposal, tenaciously adhered to by the Ministry, Lawrence took decided issue. His counter-project was to invite immigrants from the older colonies to come and take advantage of the opportunity of these fertile districts. As soon as he perceived that such a project was doomed to failure unless the men from the charter governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut could be assured of a regularly constituted Assembly or House of Representatives in the land to which they were invited, his objections to legislative development were withdrawn.

It may be added that, in spite of strong opposition from the Lords of Trade, Lawrence not only succeeded in carrying through his scheme of settlement from New England, but acted altogether on his own initiative as to the time and manner of effecting such settlement, incurring thereby another severe reprimand from the government to which, according to the historians, he gave such remarkable satisfaction.

The statements of Haliburton and Murdock as to the extraordinary popularity of Lawrence's domestic administration require serious qualifications. It was his lot to incur in some way the bitter hatred of a considerable section of the mercantile community of Halifax, from which, from first to last, and perhaps in an ever-increasing degree, he encountered the most energetic opposition. The Lords of Trade were persistently bombarded with petitions for his recall,

based on charges of cruelty, injustice, and military favoritism. Opinions vary as to the exact size of this body of malcontents. It certainly included some men of high commercial standing, Saul, "the leading merchant in town," and Joshua Manger, agent-victualler, distiller and perhaps the largest slave-owner north of Virginia. Lawrence's admirers and apologists ascribe this mercantile distrust and disfavor to his resolute, if not altogether successful, efforts to suppress smuggling, an art in which Saul and Manger were past masters. That Lawrence in other ways aroused feeling against himself is rendered probable by the fact that a number of highly reputable merchants joined in these complaints and in the movement for his recall.

MEMORIALS TO LORDS OF TRADE.

The memorials addressed to the Lords of Trade by the representatives of the complainants—the text and even the existence of which were unknown to Haliburton and Murdock—have been eagerly seized on by some modern writers, notably by Richard, to strengthen the case against Lawrence as the responsible author of the expulsion, in accordance with the not uncommon practice of trying to prove a man guilty of some particular crime by proving the general depravity of his character. It must be said that the memorials in which the petitioners present their indictments are not particularly impressive documents. They abound in strong, rather than definite statements, in sweeping, rather than particularised charges; while some of the allegations, such as that of failure to protect the life and property of the petitioners by adequate fortifications, must have amused, rather than impressed the Board of Trade. History does not record that this hostile action on the part of a number of Halifax merchants seriously affected his tenure of office. It does not appear that the memorials resulted even in an admonition. Such differences as occurred between the home authorities and the Governor had respect to strictly provincial affairs. Perhaps, however, the last memorial sent over would have been followed in the ordinary course of things by graver consequences. The memorial itself is not extant, but its tenor and contents may be gath-

ered from the references to it in the following extract from the letter, in which three months after Lawrence's death, the Lords of Trade inform Chief Justice Belcher of his succession to the governorship.

"It has been represented to us, that Governor Lawrence had encouraged and protected the disorderly part of the military under his government, in several outrages on the property, persons, and even the lives of the inhabitants; sometimes by assuming illegal powers, and at others, by abusing those which were lawfully vested in him for better purposes; by frequently interrupting the free course of justice, in discharging while under prosecution, and in enlarging after conviction, soldiers and officers guilty of destroying fences, violent assaults, and many other far greater enormities.

"Several very heavy charges have likewise been made against Governor Lawrence with respect to contracts which were entered into, both on account of the provisions distributed to the weak settlements of the colony, and the vessels which have so long been kept upon the establishment for the service of the Province.

(Signed)

" DUNK. HALIFAX,

" W. S. HAMILTON,

" W. SLOPER".

Richard interprets the above as follows:

"I was not far wrong in saying that Lawrence escaped the Tarpein rock by an opportune death. The meaning of this document is clear to the dullest comprehension. The Lords of Trade were convinced of his guilt; there remained but the usual legal formalities to be gone through; they had weighed all the information they had been able to collect, and, notwithstanding the manifold cares of the war, they felt the time had come for action; the blow was about to fall on Lawrence and plunge him into disgrace, or perhaps inflict upon him some exemplary punishment. It is worthy of remark that this despatch contains many accusations that are not to be found in the petition cited above; which proves that the Lords of Trade had received information from many quarters. "And many other far greater enormities" implies, not only that the crimes they distinctly

recited were enormous, but that those not mentioned were far more numerous and atrocious. The measure of his iniquities was full; it would soon have overflowed. Without counting his crimes, Lawrence alone, had broken more laws than all the Acadians put together, during the forty-five years of English domination."

Read, not for the purpose of propping up a preconceived opinion, but for the ascertainment of its real meaning, there is not a line or a word in Lord Halifax's letter to warrant the above inferences by Richard, that Lawrence's death was signally opportune, that he was on the eve of expulsion, if not on the brink of ruin. The Lords of Trade as a matter of official propriety simply inform the new Governor of certain representations which had been made by private parties in Halifax respecting the administrative conduct of his predecessor. Communicated as a matter of formal etiquette, the information might be of service to Belcher as showing him from what direction the wind was blowing. The Lords content themselves with sending a simple précis of the memorial, taking good care to include the hysterical exaggerations which took Richard completely off his feet, but neither incorporating in it, nor attaching to it, any expression of their own opinion in respect to the truth or falsity of the charges themselves.

There had been a long standing friction between Lawrence and the Magistracy of Halifax, or a portion of it, over real or alleged infractions of the town laws by the soldiery. The criminal code of those days was terribly exacting. Such offenders—to quote the only particular crime mentioned in the memorial—as "destroying fences" was visited with punishment severer than those now inflicted on perpetrators of flagrant immoralities. Lawrence used—and technically no doubt abused, his powers as military Governor to deal with military culprits himself, and so prevent monstrous perversions of justice, as far as he could. It surely was not an "enormous crime" on his part to try to save some petty offender from suffering punishment worthy of one who committed arson or murder. Hence these complaints.

It is not Richard's fault that he did not recognise the humor of the situation opened up in the second count against Lawrence. The eyes of the Lords of Trade were probably open to see it. If Lawrence

took away from Joshua Manger his contract as agent-victualler of the Province and as distiller of rum for the Army and Navy, and as purveyor for "the vessels which have so long been kept upon the establishment for the service of the Province," Nova Scotia lost but little, while this particular part of the memorial is completely accounted for.

Charles Lawrence was, as Dr. Macmechan aptly describes him "a most masterful man." If he was as popular as Haliburton and Murdock represent him, it was not because he sought to be so, for he never objected to a "brush." His courage, rare power of self-possession, resolute will and almost infinite capacity for work, were all under the direction of a clear and vigorous intellect. For his day and opportunity he was a good scholar. None of his contemporary colonial administrators wrote better letters and despatches. He could sustain a good case skilfully and conclusively, as in his controversy with the Lords of Trade over the question of repeopling the vacated Acadian lands. When opposing views were arguable, as in the long-drawn-out Assembly dispute, he could hold his own. Candor compels the admission that if sophistry would help him out when his case was bad, he was ready to resort to it. Of his power to confuse and becloud, we have notable instances in his letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, and in his conferences with the Piziquid deputies on the eve of the expulsion.

We do not propose to pass a formal judgment on the character of Lawrence as a man. When the reputation of a prominent actor in the drama of history is at stake, the narrator may well content himself with an impartial record of the facts in their proper relations and sequences, leaving their interpretation to the judgment of his readers.

The historical tragedy with which Lawrence's name is inseparably associated has undoubtedly thrown a dark and persistent shadow over his reputation. One thing only can suffice to clear away that cloud. Let it be shown demonstratively that in the scheme of deportation as originally planned, necessarily foreseen to involve acute suffering to thousands of innocent people—the old, the sick, pregnant women and guileless babes—in the prevarication, duplicity and false-

hood incidental to its inception; in the relentless rigor with which it was pressed to its bitter and cruel end; let it be shown that in all this Lawrence was but a high priest, sacrificing at the altar of his Country's need, all that an honest man values most, his reputation, not for transcendental virtues, but for those common qualities of integrity and humanity which distinguish Englishmen, and he stands a good chance for an acquittal. This plea has been made in his behalf by writers of great ability. The picture drawn to serve the purpose of vindication is that of a stern soldier, who in the interest of his Province, suppressed the impulses, and disobeyed the dictates of humanity. Considerations of national safety, absolute military necessity were the compelling causes of the expulsion. If this ground can be firmly sustained, Lawrence is no more chargeable with cruelty than is the soldier who shoots a foeman in the opposite ranks guilty of murder. That it cannot be sustained, that the picture drawn of Lawrence girding on his sword to smite the enemies of his country at this perilous crisis, is an almost absurd travesty of the actual situation, are the deliberate convictions of the compiler of this history. At the same time it may be admitted that just prior to the breaking out of formal hostilities in the Seven Years War, things were in a most uneasy condition as between the French and English in America. Shirley and Lawrence, who were on the spot, naturally enough conceived the idea that the tearing out, root and branch, of the Acadians from Nova Scotia would be helpful to the cause of England, and perhaps, they soon satisfied their own reason and consciences, that what was expedient was also right.

It seems to us of this generation that the authors of the expulsion were evidently in the wrong. There was nothing within the waters encompassing the Peninsula to awaken military instincts. There was no enemy in sight; no tidings of any in the distance. The actual facts of the case do not seem to have afforded any ground to justify the drastic action taken. We enter on debatable ground when we inquire into the secret motives which determine human conduct; but may we not set up the hypothesis that Lawrence was astray in his interpretation of facts and of the requirements of duty, rather than intentionally cruel and unjust?

Later estimates of Lawrence vary according to the view taken of the momentous transaction which formed the central feature of his career in Nova Scotia. Those who regard his treatment of the Acadians in the Peninsula as imposed on him by a stern necessity and as involving no weakened sense of either justice or mercy, are free to express their appreciation of what strikes them as a truly admirable and impressive figure. If on the other hand the deportation be looked on as an indefensible outrage, the pencil finds no colors too black for the picture of the man who conceived it and carried it out. According to the opinion expressed in a previous part of this history, and still adhered to, the true interpretation of the so-called Expulsion lies somewhere between these extreme views. It was essentially unjustifiable, but not altogether unprovoked.

The distinguished naval services of Captain John Rous, a member of H. M. Council for six years previous to his death, and four months before that of Lawrence, deserved earlier recognition. He began his career as master of a Boston privateer. In 1744 with two ships of fourteen guns each, he was sent to deal with a French fleet on the northern coast of Newfoundland. Nothing could surpass in thoroughness the manner in which he discharged this duty. The five large armed vessels composing the enemy's fleet were all taken, with another ship of sixteen guns and "ten vessels on the Banks." More wonderful still "he retook a British ship, burned all the fishing establishments in seven different harbors, and destroyed upwards of eight hundred fishing vessels—all within the short space of one month." At the first siege of Louisburg, he was second in command of the Shirley Galley, twenty-four guns. After the fall of Louisburg, he was despatched to England by Pepperrell to convey news of the victory. In 1755 he commanded the squadron which brought Moncton's forces to Beausejour, and later battered down all the French fortifications on the St. John. He commanded the Sutherland at Louisburg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759. From the deck of the Sutherland, Wolfe issued his last order, before climbing the famous steeps. His closing years were spent at Halifax, where his daughter married the Secretary of the Province, Hon. Richard Bulkeley."

On the death of Governor Lawrence, the reins of government passed automatically into the hands of the President of the Council, Chief Justice Belcher. King George the Second died on the 25th of October, 1760. In obedience to despatches from the Lords of Trade his grandson and successor, George the Third was formally proclaimed at Halifax on February 11, 1761. All the dignitaries of the Provincial Capital, civil, military and naval, united to make the function an imposing one. There were indeed five successive proclamations, "at the Court-house door, at the north gate of the town, before the governor's house, at the south gate of the town, before the governor's house and lastly upon the parade." The banquet at "Governor Lawrence's Head Tavern" was a choice one. We are assured that the concluding illuminations and fire-works were "the best designed and the best executed of anything of the kind that has been hitherto seen in North America and that "the whole was conducted with the highest elegance and the greatest regularity and decorum."

At a meeting of the Council held on Monday, February 16th, the first business transacted was a vote of forty-seven pounds, fourteen shillings and eleven pence "for erecting a steeple on the German Meeting House in the North Suburbs." The death of the late King having dissolved the Assembly, the Council proceeded to make arrangements for the election of a new one. Writs were made returnable on the 8th of the following April, and the following schedule of representation was set forth: For the Counties of Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis and Kings', two members each; for the town of Halifax four members; for the towns of Lunenburg, Annapolis, Horton, Falmouth, Cornwallis and Liverpool, two each; in all twenty-four, as compared with twenty-two in the last House. The addition of six members from the new townships of Falmouth, Cornwallis, and Liverpool was largely counterbalanced by the loss of four, occasioned by the omission from the present list of the County of Cumberland and of the township of the same name, each of which had at least a nominal representation of two in the dissolved Assembly. The dropping of these northern constituencies was due to the infinitesimal proportions of their voting population, the freeholders, being limited to the few proprietors of land in the vicinity of Fort

Cumberland. That they had obtained recognition in the previous schedule has been variously, and never very satisfactorily, explained. Constituencies were scarce, and it was not well to inquire too closely into the qualification of voters, or indeed into the question whether there were any voters at all. Then such an important and strategic centre as Fort Cumberland richly merited representation. The most satisfactory explanation of the fact that representation was accorded in advance of population is that too much reliance was placed on an expectation of a much earlier influx of immigrants from New England than actually took place. There were at least three representatives from Cumberland, in the Assembly just dissolved: Colonel Joseph Fry, Commandant of the Fort; Captain Winckworth Tonge, the military engineer, who built Fort Lawrence and helped capture Fort Beausejour, and Captain John Huston,¹ who was engaged in the commissary business with Joshua Winslow.

When New England settlers established themselves at Fort Cumberland and vicinity in 1762-3, they memorialized the Governor and Council for the privilege of sending, as did other townships, a member to the Assembly at Halifax. The request was acceded to, and the freeholders proceeded to elect Joshua Winslow as their representative.

The first division of Nova Scotia into Counties was made in 1759. The counties then laid off were Halifax, which included all territory not embraced in the limits of the other four; Cumberland including all that part of Nova Scotia lying to the north of the County of Kings, and Annapolis, Lunenburg and Kings, each with minutely specified boundaries. It will be seen that a knowledge of the topography of Cumberland depends upon the knowledge of Kings. What

¹Captain Huston—the family name is still preserved in Cumberland—deserves to be noted as the man who, having picked up Brook Watson as a waif in Boston, brought him to the notice of his chief, Jonathan Winslow. It was under Winslow that Watson obtained the training which determined his singularly successful career. Joshua Winslow belonged to the same family as John Winslow, the journalist. In 1761 he was filling the position of commissary-general in Nova Scotia. On receiving, in 1791, the appointment of commissary-general to the troops in Quebec, he removed to that city, where he died in 1801. Captain Huston at a later period represented the County of Cumberland in the Assembly and took an active part in the settlement of the isthmus.

then were the boundaries of Kings? Kings was "bounded westerly by the County of Annapolis, and of the same width, and from the southeasterly corner of said County to run E. 24 degrees N. to the lake commonly called Long Lake, emptying into Pisiqid (Avon) river, and thence continuing near the same course to the river Cheubenacadie (Shubenacadie) opposite to the mouth of the river Stewiack, thence up said river ten miles, and thence northerly to Tatamaquash (Tatamagouche) and from Tatamaquash, westerly, to the river Solier,² where it discharges into the Channel of Chignecto." It is not necessary to detail here the various loppings off of which the mis-happen territorial monstrosity thus outlined became reduced to the modest compact area now known as the County of Kings, but which in its original bounds, included outside of the limits of the latter, a corner of Lunenburg, practically the whole of Hants, more than a third of Colchester, and nearly, if not quite, one-half of Cumberland.

Among the items of business transacted by the third Assembly at its first sesison the following may be noted. The Commander-in-Chief was requested to establish "Inferior Courts of Common Pleas" in every County. A vote was passed to "buy the Statutes at large with the best abridgment thereof." The acting Governor announced to the Assembly that Henry Ellis, Esquire, had been appointed Governor and suggested the propriety of arrangements for a public reception on his arrival. Accordingly a joint Committee of both Houses drew up an elaborate program of proceedings for the contemplated function, but quite needlessly. Ellis, of whom nothing seems to be known but that he had been Governor of Georgia, held the sinecure post for three years and "did not come to the country." Chief Justice Belcher was appointed Lieutenant Governor and for two years continued to fill two somewhat incompatible positions. When at a later period the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor was called for, it was decided not to repeat this experiment of duality of function. Belcher's is the only case of its occurrence.

In all, nineteen Acts were passed at this session, the most important of which are said to have been one for the better observance of the Lord's day, and one "to authorize the seizure of property of

² Now the Shulee.

absent and absconding debtors." The following is a list of the members of the Assembly:

William Nesbitt,	County Halifax.
Michael Franklin,	
Malachy Salter,	Town Halifax.
John Burbidge,	
Jonathan Binney,	
Mr. William Best,	
Archibald Hinshelwood,	County Lunenburg.
Mr. Joseph Pernette,	
Sebast. Zouberbuhler,	Town Lunenburg.
Mr. Philip Knaut,	
Benjamin Gerrish,	Town Liverpool.
Mr. Nathan Tupper,	
Joseph Woodmass,	County Annapolis.
John Steele, Esqr.,	
Joseph Winniett,	Town Annapolis.
Mr. Thomas Day,	
Colonel Robert Denison,	County King's.
Charles Morris, Jr.,	
William Welch,	Town Horton.
Mr. Labbeus Harris,	
Colonel H. D. Denson,	Town West Falmouth.
Isaac Deschamps,	
Dr. Samuel Willoughby,	Town of Cornwallis.
Capt. Stephen West,	

It will be noticed that of the six members returned for the County and Town of Halifax, four, Nesbitt (speaker), Burbidge, Binney and Best, sat in the first Provincial Assembly. Knaut of Lunenburg is the only country member dating so far back. He sat also in the second Assembly as did his present colleague, Zouberbuhler. The following other names common to the second and third Assembly lists are:

Nesbitt, Malachy Salter, Binney, Burbidge, Franklin of Halifax,

Benjamin Gerrish, representing Halifax in the second Assembly and the Town of Liverpool in the third, and Archibald Hinshelwood representing Halifax in the second and the County of Lunenburg in the third.

During the summer and autumn of 1761 signs of new settlement and augmented population variously displayed themselves. On August 15th, Captain Benoni Danks with Messrs. William Allen, Abiel Richardson, John Houston and John Oats were appointed to divide the forfeited Acadian lands in the Township of Cumberland. A few days afterwards Capt. Winckworth Tonge, Joshua Winsood, John Houston, John Jenks, Joshua Sprague, Valentine Estabrooks and William Maxwell were appointed a committee to admit persons into the Township of Sackville in Cumberland County. On the ninth of October Alexander McNutt arrived at Halifax bringing with him upwards of three hundred settlers from Ulster. These found accommodation for the winter in temporary quarters on Cornwallis (McNabs) Island. In the spring the main body of these colonists was located in a fertile district on the shores of Cobequid Bay which ever since has borne the name of Londonderry. Others found homes in Horton and in the places about to become known as Windsor and Amherst. The process of Provincial settlement was much facilitated by treaties of amity with the Indians, which during the summer of sixty-one were negotiated with the chiefs on quite an extensive scale.

The Lieut.-Governor and his Council signaled the advent of 1762 by voting, without so much as saying "by your leave" to the Assembly, salaries to the Judges of the newly established Inferior Courts of Common Pleas. This set the members of the Assembly to thinking. On looking into the matter they found that the Council without their concurrence was disposing of moneys raised under the authority of old *ultra vires* pre-Assembly ordinances of Council, the validating, annulling or amending of which were among the chief objects for which the Assembly itself had been constituted. More discouraging still was the discovery that the Council assumed to dispose of all duty-money collected under Imperial Acts for the regulation of trade, the Assembly's own power of appropriation being

limited to the trifling sum raised by taxation imposed by itself. "The consequence," says Murdock, "was that the influence and standing of the Assembly was diminished and rendered insignificant as they had but a very small revenue under their control; while the Council had not only much public money to give away but held all the best local offices themselves and exercised the almost exclusive patronage of all others whether of honor or emolument; and this anomalous and unconstitutional state of things endured far into the present century."

When the Assembly met for its second session on March 17th Lieut-Governor Belcher addressed some solemn observations to the impoverished representatives of the people on "the unsupportable load of debt" under which the Province labored, amounting, it would seem, to four thousand five hundred pounds. The Governor recommended attention to "finance and economy." The House took him at his word. When Lieutenant-Governor Belcher by special message asked the House to aid the distressed inhabitants of Onslow, Truro and Yarmouth who were in want of provisions, and particularly of seed grain, the House declared that such a grant was impossible in consequence of, "the great load of debt due to the publick," referring to a borrowing bill just passed to wipe out the aforesaid debt of four thousand five hundred pounds. A similar answer was returned to a request for two hundred and twenty-four pounds nine shillings and nine pence "to repair and finish the church at Lunenburg." The Council from its own funds came to the relief of the new settlements to the extent of three hundred and fifty pounds two shillings and eight pence.

In this emergency the Assembly struck out on a bold course. Joshua Mauger, rich in the spoils of naval and military contracts, of the distillation of rum, and of smuggling, had just returned to England taking with him it was reported a fortune of three hundred thousand pounds. The House of Assembly issued a commission appointing "Joshua Mauger, of London, agent in behalf of this House and of the people whom the members represent." The agent "was empowered to appear before the King, the Privy Council, the House of Commons, Board of Trade, Courts of Law and Equity or any of the public offices in London according to such letters of instruction

as shall from time to time be transmitted him by the Speaker." After holding the office or appointment for a few years Mauger resigned on being elected M. P. for Poole. The statement in the Nova Scotia Archives (Vol. I, p. 646) that he was succeeded by Richard Cumberland, the dramatic author, is incorrect. Mauger and Cumberland were in fact contemporary Nova Scotia agents in London, the former acting in behalf of the Assembly, the latter, nominally of the Province, but really of the Governor and Council. Cumberland received his appointment in 1759 through the good offices of Lord Halifax, first Lord of Trade and Plantations. He tells us that he was able to enter the marriage state because he had received "the small establishment of Crown-Agent for Nova Scotia." A certain report of Mauger's ruffled the surface of affairs slightly and briefly. Otherwise, we hear but little of these rival agents and their doings. Mauger submitted a claim that he had influenced the Lords of Trade to adopt certain lines of action opposed to the policy and wishes of Belcher and his Council. The Lieutenant-Governor exposed, or thought he did so, some falsehoods in Mauger's statement and instructed "Mr. Cumberland, Agent for the Province in London, to seek reparation for the honour of the Government."

The boundary line between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia was an unsettled matter. Lieutenant-Governor Belcher transmitted to the House of Assembly a message from the Governor of Massachusetts asking for the co-operation of Nova Scotia in an effort "to settle the bounds of each respective claim and jurisdiction," and expressing his own confidence that the legislature would grant such co-operation as far as might be proper in the case of a province so entirely dependent on the Crown, also naturally referring to the peculiar interest which Massachusetts had always taken in Nova Scotia and to the desirability of harmonious relations with so kindly disposed a province.

The Assembly's reply to the message strongly asserted that "the subject therein recommended by His Honor is a matter proper for the consideration of His Majesty only, and not at all consistent for us to enter upon, for that the lands now claimed by the government

are within the boundaries of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and the property of the Crown."

A FRENCH FLEET AT ST. JOHNS.

The first week in July (1762) exciting and alarming news reached Halifax. A French fleet had sailed into the harbor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, forced the capitulation of the garrison, and taken possession of the city, the inhabitants to be regarded as prisoners until the conclusion of the War.¹ On July 8th both houses address the lieutenant Governor as to how best to plan defence in such an hour of danger. St. Johns has fallen: Halifax's turn may come next. The Houses ask that "those French neutrals be put under a guard, and not permitted the use of boats or shallops, nor suffered to go abroad without passports.

The House took a recess from the 15th to the 26th of July. Instead of the members' minds cooling off, with opportunity of reflection on the actual position of affairs, the signs of unreasoning alarm and frenzy were still more marked and manifest on their return. An address to the Lieutenant was adopted in which the returned exiles were handled without gloves, and which closed with a prayer for a second deportation, that the Governor will give "order that these French prisoners may be removed out of the province."²

Then steps were taken to avert, or meet, the coming peril, A Council of War—not an ordinary council dealing with civil affairs—was held at the Governor's House on July 10th. There were present: Lient-Gov. Belcher; Col. Richard Bulkeley (Prov. Sec.) of the Halifax militia; Major General, John Henry Bastide (Supt. of

¹The story of the deported Acadians between 1755 and the time of their partial repatriation of 1766-7, has been purposely withheld until the subject can be taken up and treated consecutively from beginning to end. Any comments required on the references to the "French Neutrals" found in the ensuing paragraphs of the main text will also be reserved.

²The House found that there were other people quite as bad as the neutrals, "numbers even of H. M. subjects, who from sordid views and an invincible avidity for gain would be wicked enough to furnish them with as much ammunition and provisions by stealth as would be sufficient to do abundance of mischief, and this is what we have too fatally and frequently experienced since the first settlement of Halifax."

building operations at the Citadel) Col. William Foster, Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Hamilton, Lieutenant Col. John Winslow, and the Right Hon. Lord Colville, Commander-in-Chief of H. M. Ships in North America. The small island of Thrum Cap was selected as the place of signals. Two hundred militiamen from Lunenburg were to be summoned. Strict guardianship of the Neutrals was to be provided by the Commander-in-Chief. Old batteries should be strengthened, and new ones constructed at Point Pleasant and the dockyard. A proper quota of men was told off for each battery. An armed vessel was to guard the Eastern Passage. The Neutrals who were building dikes in Kings and Annapolis must be brought to Halifax by an escort of the Kings County militia. And so events moved on. Every other day there was a Council of War. No threatened city ever had more elaborate preparations made or suggested for its defence than Halifax. A full account of them would fill nearly a dozen pages of this volume. On July 13th martial law was proclaimed, and a ten days embargo laid on all shipping.

At the War Council of July 15th Lord Colville informed the members *in writing* that he had placed his flagship, the Northumberland, the only King's ship with him, about half a mile above the narrow pass of Mauger's Beach, nearly on the main channel, considerably adding that "if a more eligible situation is pointed out, the ship may be moved immediately." A boom of timber and iron chains 120 feet long is to be swung across the North West Arm, to be supported and protected by two of the largest sloops that can be found. Another Council of War the next day. There are fresh orders about the sloops and the bombs and the batteries. This time the lines of defence are extended to Margaret's Bay. A battery is to be provided on Cornwallis Island and Mr. Maugher's block house, near the dock yard is to be manned and entrenched.

Gen. Amherst, who was in New York, having heard of the capture of St. Johns and of the frenzied alarm in Halifax, wrote that he was a little afraid about Louisburg, but considered Halifax, as next to Quebec the strongest place in America and perfectly immune against any force which the French could bring against it. As, however, Lord Colville had only one ship, it might be well for him to

await reinforcements before sailing for the relief or the recovery of St. Johns. Meantime the thought had entered Lord Colville's mind that the true policy was to carry the war into Africa, rather than to waste time in preparing for an enemy who might never come. Having picked up a Massachusetts ship of war, he sailed in the Northumberland for Newfoundland. The French fleet had raided Placentia and partially destroyed the fortifications before making its attack on St. Johns. At Placentia Colville found the English governor engaged in the work of repair and restoration. He was soon joined by transports despatched by Amherst, and carrying troops taken on board at Louisburg and Halifax. Sailing for St. Johns he chased the French fleet from the harbor, and at once forced the garrison to surrender.

At Halifax the scare was soon over. The Lieutenant-Governor announced that "Martial Law" was at an end. The neutrals of the city, just described by Governor Belcher as so "insolent and dangerous" that the safety of Halifax depended on their transportment to Boston, resumed their patient ill-paid toil on Citadel Hill under Major General John Bastide. Those who had been marched down from the country, were now marched back again to build dykes and aboideaus for Colonel Henry Denny Denson in Falmouth. For some time the stock of the grim god of war was at a decided discount in Halifax.

Two or three events of some importance have escaped notice. The three southwestern townships of Liverpool, Barrington and Yarmouth were erected into a county—the sixth in order of creation—to be known as the County of Queens, and a writ was ordered to be issued for the election of two members to represent it in the Assembly.

At a council meeting held on the 28th of August, the lieutenant Gov. announced that His Majesty's ministry was so much offended against the members of the Assembly who had not attended their duty therein the last Fall that he had directions to dismiss them from all their employments, civil and military; and the lieutenant Governor ordered the following gentlemen should be dismissed ac-

cordingly viz:—Mr. Malachy Salter,¹ Mr. Jonathan Binney, Mr. Benjamin Gerrish, Mr. Philip Knaut, Mr. Robert Dennison, Mr. Stephen West. With the exception of Knaut, who was a German, these gentlemen were all natives of New England. The constituencies they represented in order of the names were: Halifax County, Halifax City, Liverpool town, Lunenburg town, Kings County, Cornwallis town.

The preliminaries of peace between England on the one hand and Spain and France on the other were signed on the 8th of November, 1763. On November 26th King George III issued a proclamation, ordering hostilities to cease.

¹ Great-grandfather of Beamish Murdock, author of the well-known *History of Nova Scotia*.

APPENDIX

VIEWS OF HISTORIANS ON THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

Opinions of Jonathan Belcher, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, on the proposed expulsion and deportation of the Acadians. The document embodying these opinions was read before the Governor and Council in Halifax on July 28, 1755, the day on which the Board reached its final decision:

The question now depending before the Governor and Council as to the Residence or removal of the French Inhabitants from the Province of Nova Scotia, is of the highest moment to the Honour of the Crown and the Settlement of the Colony, and as such a juncture as the present may never occur for considering this question to any effect, I esteem it my duty to offer my reasons against receiving any of the French Inhabitants who did not take the oaths and for their not being permitted to remain in the Province.

1. By their conduct from the Treaty of Utrecht to this day they have appeared in no other light than that of Rebels to His Majesty whose Subjects they became by virtue of the Cession of the Province and the Inhabitants of it under that Treaty.

2. That it will be contrary to the Letter and Spirit of His Majesty's Instruction to Governor Cornwallis and in my humble apprehension would incur the displeasure of the Crown and the Parliament.

3. That it will defeat the intent of the Expedition to Beau Sejour.

4. That it will put a total stop to the Progress of the Settlement and disappoint the expectations from the vast Expense of Great Britain in the Province.

5. That when they return to their Pertidy and Treacheries as they unquestionably will, and with more rancour than before, on the removal of the Fleet and Troops, the Province will be in no condition to drive them out of their Possessions.

(1) (From 1713 to 1744, the Chief Justice deals with events belonging to the period of peace which followed the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht and have little bearing on the pending question).

* * * In 1744 under Lee Loutre 300 Indians supported by these Neutral French, marched through all their districts, and lodged within a quarter of a mile of the garrison, and no Inhabitants gave any intelligence to the Government.

They in like manner supported and maintained in the same year M. Duvivier who had near surprised the Garrison and only one Inhabitant gave Intelligence which put them on their guard and prevented it.

In 1746 they maintained 1,700 Canadians in their districts the whole Summer awaiting for the Arrival of Duke Danville's Fleet and when part of the forces came before the Fort, they assisted them, and made all their Fascines, and were to have joined in the attempt being all Armed by the French.

The winter following when the English with about 500 Troops were Canton'd at Mines, by advice of the situation of the English Troops, given by the French Inhabitants by the French Troops, they drew them to attack the English, and even brought the French Officers into the English Quarters before the attack was made, and they joined with the French in the Attack, whereby 70 of His Majesty's Subjects lost their lives, about two-thirds of whom were sick Persons and were murdered by the French Inhabitants. This was attested by some of the soldiers who escaped. They were afterwards before the Capitulation in Arms, and kept Guard over the English Prisoners and Treated them with more severity, than the French King's subjects themselves did.

They very frequently afterwards Received and Maintained different parties of the French During the continuance of the war.

When the English first made the Settlement at Halifax and ever

since they have spirited up the Indians to commit Hostilities against the English, always maintaining, supporting and giving Intelligence to them, where they might distress the Settlement to the best advantage, it having been always noted that before any Indian attempts, a number of the French Inhabitants have been found hovering about those places.

They have constantly since the Settlement obstinately refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, and have induced many of our Foreign Settlers to desert over to the French, and have always supplied the French Troops who have intruded upon this Province with Provisions, giving them a constant intelligence of the motions of the English, and have thereby forced the English to live in Garrison Towns, and they were unable to cultivate and improve lands at any distance, which has been the Principal cause of the great expense to the British Nation, and a means of more than half of the Inhabitants who came here with an intent to settle, quitting the Province and settling in other Plantations, where they might get their Bread without resigning their lives.

From such a Series of Facts for more than 40 years, it was evident that the French Inhabitants are so far from being disposed to become good Subjects that they are more and more discovering their inveterate enmity to the English and their affection to the French, of which we have recent Instances in their Insolence to Captain Murrey, hiding the best of their Arms and surrendering only their useless musquets, and in their present absolute refusal to take the Oaths of Allegiance.

Under these circumstances, I think it cannot consist with the Honour of the Government, or the safety and prosperity of this Province, to permit any of the Inhabitants now to take the Oaths.

(2) It will be contrary to the letter and spirit of His Majesty's Instructions.

The Instruction was sent at a time when the Government was not in a capacity to assert its rights against the French forfeiting Inhabitants, and it is hardly to be doubted that if the present circumstances of the Province were known to the Crown, that the Instruction if it is now in force would be annulled.

Governor Cornwallis, according to Instruction, summoned the French Inhabitants to swear allegiance, and as they refused, the Instructions seems to be no longer in force, and that therefore the Government now have no power to tender the Oaths, as the French Inhabitants had by their non-compliance with the condition of the Treaty of Utrecht forfeited their Possessions to the Crown.

(3) It must defeat the Intention of the Expedition to Beau Sejour.

The advantages from the success of that Expedition, are the weakening the power of the Indians and curbing the Insolence of the French Inhabitants, but if after our late reduction of the French Forts, and while the Troops are in their Borders and the British Fleet in our Harbour, and even in the presence of His Majesty's Admirals and to the highest contempt of the Governor in Council, they presume to refuse the allegiance to His Majesty and shall yet be received and trusted as Subjects, we seem to give up all the advantages designed by the Victory, and if this be their language while the Fleet and Troops are with us, I know not what will be their style, and the event of their insolence and Hostilities when they are gone.

(4) It may retard the Progress of the Settlement and possibly be a means of breaking it up. (Argument immaterial).

(5) As no Expedient can be found for removing them out of the Province when the present Armament is withdrawn, as will be inevitably requisite, for they will, unquestionably resume their Perfidy and Treacheries and with more arts and rancour than before.

And as the Residence of the French Inhabitants in the Province attached to France occasions all the Schemes of the French King, and his attempts for acquiring the Province.

I think myself obliged for these reasons and from the highest necessity which is *Lex temporis*, to the interests of His Majesty in the Province, humbly to advise that all the French Inhabitants may be removed from the Province.

JONATHAN BELCHER.

Upon an impartial review of the transactions of this period, it must be admitted, that the transportation of the Acadians to distant colonies, with all the marks of ignominy and guilt peculiar to convicts, was cruel; and although such a conclusion could not then be drawn, yet subsequent events have disclosed that their expulsion was unnecessary. It seems totally irreconcilable with the idea, as at this day entertained of justice, that those who are not involved in the guilt shall participate in the punishment; or that a whole community shall suffer for the misconduct of a part. It is, doubtless, a stain on the Provincial Councils, and we shall not attempt to justify that which all good men have agreed to condemn. But we must not lose sight of the offense in pity for the culprits, nor, in the indulgence of our indignation, forget that although nothing can be offered in defense, much may be produced in palliation of this transaction. Had the milder sentence of unrestricted exile been passed upon them, it was obvious that it would have had the effect of recruiting the strength of Canada, and that they would naturally have engaged in those attempts which the French were constantly making for the recovery of the Province.

Three hundred of them had been found in arms at one time; and no doubt existed, of others having advised and assisted the Indians in those numerous acts of hostility, which, at that time, totally interrupted the settlement of the country. When all were thus suspected of being disaffected, and many were detected in open rebellion, what confidence could be placed in their future loyalty? It was also deemed impracticable in those days of religious rancour, for the English colonists to mingle in the same community with the Frenchmen and Catholics. Those persons who are acquainted with the early history of the neighboring colonies of New England, will easily perceive of what magnitude this objection must have appeared at that period. Amidst all these difficulties, surrounded by a vigilant and powerful enemy and burdened with a population, whose attachment was more than doubtful, what course could the Governor adopt, which, while it ensured the tranquility of the Colony, should temper justice with mercy to those misguided people? With the knowledge

we now possess of the issue of a contest which was then extremely uncertain, it might not be difficult to point to the measures which should have been adopted; but we must admit, that the choice was attended with circumstances of peculiar embarrassment. If the Acadians, therefore, had to lament that they were condemned unheard, that their accusers were also their judges, and that their sentence was disproportioned to their offense; they had also much reason to attribute their misfortunes to the intrigues of their countrymen in Canada, who seduced them from their allegiance to a Government which was disposed to extend to them its protection and regard, and instigated them to a rebellion, which it was easy to foresee would end in their ruin.—Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*.

Petition to the Acadians deported to Philadelphia.

To His Most Excellent Majesty, King of Great Britain, Etc., Etc.

The humble Petition of his subjects, the late French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, formerly settled on the Bay of Minas, and rivers thereunto belonging; now residing in the Province of Pennsylvania, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the late inhabitants of the said bay, and also of those formerly settled on the river of Annapolis Royal, wheresoever dispersed.

May it please Your Majesty.

It is not in our power sufficiently to trace back the conditions upon which our ancestors first settled in Nova Scotia, under the protection of Your Majesty's predecessors, as the great part of our elders who were acquainted with these transactions are dead; but more specially because our papers, which contained our contracts, records, etc., etc., were, by violence, taken from us some time before the unhappy catastrophe which has been the occasion of the calamities we are now under; but we always understood the foundation thereof to be from an agreement made between Your Majesty's

Commissioners in Nova Scotia and our forefathers about the year 1713 whereby they were permitted to remain in the possession of their lands, under an oath of fidelity to the British Government, with an exemption from bearing arms, and the allowance of the free exercise of our religion.

It is a matter of certainty,—and within the compass of some of our memories—that in the year 1730, General Philipps, the Governor of Nova Scotia did, in your Majesty's name confirm unto us, and all the inhabitants of the whole extent of the Bay of Minas and rivers thereunto belonging, the free and entire possession of those lands we were then possessed of; which by grants from the former French Government, we held to us and our heirs forever on paying the customary quit-rents, Etc., Etc. And on condition that we should behave with due submission and fidelity to Your Majesty, agreeable to the oath which was then administered to us, which is as follows, viz: "We sincerely promise and swear, by the faith of A Christian, that we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to His Majesty King George whom we acknowledge as sovereign Lord of New Scotland, or Acadia; so God help us."

And at the same time, the said General Philipps did, in like manner, promise the said French inhabitants, in Your Majesty's name, that they should have the true exercise of their religion, and be exempted from bearing arms, and from being employed in war, either against the French or Indians. Under the sanction of this solemn engagement we held our lands, made further purchases, annually paying our quit-rents, Etc., Etc.; and we had the greatest reason to conclude that Your Majesty did not disapprove of the above agreement and that our conduct continued, during a long course of years, to be such as recommended us to your gracious protection, and to the regard of the Governor of New England, appears from a printed declaration, made seventeen years after this time, by His Excellency William Shirley, Governor of New England, which was published and dispersed in our country, some copies

of which have escaped from the general destruction of most of our papers, part of which is as follows:

"By His Majesty's command.

"A declaration of William Shirley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, Etc.

"To His Majesty's subjects the French inhabitants of his Province of Nova Scotia: Whereas, upon being informed that a report had been propagated among His Majesty's subjects, the French inhabitants of His Province of Nova Scotia, that there was an intention to remove them from their settlements, in that Province. I did, by my declaration, dated 16th September, 1746, signify to them that the same was groundless, and that I was, on the contrary, persuaded that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to extend his royal protection to all such of them as should continue in their fidelity and allegiance to him, and in no wise abet or hold correspondence with the enemies of his crown; and therein assured them that I would make a favorable representation of their state and circumstances to His Majesty, and did accordingly transmit a representation thereof to be laid before him, and have thereupon received his royal pleasure, touching his aforesaid subjects in Nova Scotia, *with his express commands to signify the same to them in his name; now, by virtue thereof, and in obedience to His Majesty's said orders.* I do hereby declare, in His Majesty's name, that there is not the least foundation for any apprehension of His Majesty's intending to remove them the said inhabitants of Nova Scotia, from their said settlements and habitations within the said Province; but that, on the contrary, it is His Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of them as have adhered to and shall continue in their duty and allegiance to him, in the quiet and peaceable possession for their respective habitations and settlements *and in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as his subjects, Etc., Etc."*

Dated at Boston, the 21st of October, 1747.

And this is farther confirmed by a letter, dated 29th of June, in

the same year, wrote to our deputies by Mr. Mascarene, then Your Majesty's chief commander in Nova Scotia which refers to Governor Shirley's first declaration of which we have a copy, legally authenticated, part of which is as follows, viz: "As to the fear you say you labor under, on account of being threatened to evacuate the country, you have in possession His Excellency William Shirley's printed letter, whereby you may be made easy in that respect; you are sensible of the promises I have made to you, the effects of which you have already felt, that, I would protect you so long as, by your conduct and fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain, you would enable me to do so, which promise I do again repeat to you."

Near the time of the publication of the before mentioned declaration, it was required that our deputies should, on behalf of all the people, renew the oath formerly taken to General Philipps, which was done without any mention of bearing arms, and we can with truth say, that we are not sensible of alteration in our disposition and conduct since that time; but that we always continued to retain a grateful regard to Your Majesty and your Government, notwithstanding which we have found ourselves surrounded with difficulties unknown to us before. Your Majesty determined to fortify our Province and settle Halifax; which the French looking upon with jealousy, they made frequent incursions through our country, in order to annoy that settlement, whereby we became exposed to many straits and hardships; yet, from the obligations we were under, from the oath we had taken, we were never under any doubt, but that it was our indispensable duty and interest, to remain true, to your Government and our oath of fidelity; hoping that in time those difficulties would be removed, and we should see peace and tranquility restored; and if, from the change of affairs in Nova Scotia, Your Majesty had thought it not inconsistent with the safety of your said Province to let us remain there upon the terms promised us by your Governors, in Your Majesty's name, we should doubtless have acquiesced with any other reasonable proposal which might have been made to us, consistent with the safety of our aged parents, and tender wives and children; and we are persuaded that if that had been

the case, wherever we had retired, we should have held ourselves under the strongest obligations of gratitude, from a thankful remembrance of the happiness we had enjoyed under Your Majesty's administration and gracious protection. About the time of the settlement of Halifax, General Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, did require that we should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption before allowed us of not bearing arms; but this we absolutely refused, as being an infringement of the principal condition upon which our forefathers agreed to settle under the British Government.

And we acquainted Governor Cornwallis, that if Your Majesty was not willing to continue that exemption to us, we desired liberty to evacuate the country, proposing to settle on the Island of St. John, where the French Government was willing to let us have land; which proposal he at that time refused to consent to, but told us he would acquaint Your Majesty therewith and return us an answer. But we never received an answer, nor was any proposal of that made to us until we were made prisoners.

After the settlement of Halifax we suffered many abuses and insults from Your Majesty's enemies, more specially from the Indians in the interest of the French, by whom our cattle was killed, our houses pillaged, and many of us personally abused and put in fear of our lives, and some even carried away prisoners towards Canada, solely on account of our resolution steadily to maintain our oath of fidelity to the English Government; particularly Rene Le Blanc—our public notary—was taken prisoner by the Indians when actually traveling in Your Majesty's service, his house pillaged, and himself carried to the French fort, from whence he did not recover his liberty but with great difficulty after four years, captivity.

We were likewise obliged to comply with the demand of the enemy, made for provisions, cattle, etc., etc., upon pain of military execution, which we had reason to believe the Government was made sensible was not an act of choice on our part, but of necessity, as those in authority appeared to take in good part the representations we always made to them after anything of that nature had happened.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties we thus labored under, yet we dare appeal to the several Governors, both at Halifax and Annapolis Royal, for testimonials of our being always ready and willing to obey their orders, and give all the assistance in our power, either in furnishing provisions and materials, or making roads, building forts, etc., etc., agreeable to Your Majesty's orders, and our oath of fidelity, whensoever called upon, or required thereunto.

It was also our constant care to give notice to Your Majesty's commanders, of the danger they from time to time have been exposed to by the enemy's troops, and had the intelligence we gave been always attended to, many lives might have been spared, particularly to the unhappy affair which befell Major Noble and his brother at Grand Pre, when they, with great numbers of their men were cut off by the enemy, notwithstanding the frequent advices we had given them of the danger they were in; and yet we have been very unjustly accused as parties in that massacre.

And although we have been thus anxiously concerned to manifest our fidelity in these several respects, yet it has been falsely insinuated, that it had been our general practice to abet and support Your Majesty's enemies; but we trust your Majesty will not suffer suspicions and accusations to be received as proof sufficient to reduce thousands of innocent people from the most happy situations to a state of the greatest distress and misery. No, this was far from our thoughts; we esteemed our situation so happy as by no means to desire a change.

We have always desired, and again desire that we may be permitted to answer our accusers in a judicial way. In the meantime, permit us, sir, here solemnly to declare, that these accusations are utterly false, and groundless, so far as they concern us as a collective body of people. It hath been always our desire to live as our fathers have done, as faithful subjects under Your Majesty's royal protection, with an unfeigned resolution to maintain our oath of fidelity to the utmost of our power. Yet it cannot be expected but that amongst us, as well as amongst other people, there have been some weak and false-hearted persons, susceptible of being bribed by the enemy so as to break the oath of fidelity. Twelve of these were out-

lawed in Governor Shirley's Proclamation before mentioned; but it will be found that the number of such false-hearted men amongst us were very few, considering our situation, the number of our inhabitants, and how we stood circumstanced in several respects; and it may easily be made to appear that it was the constant care of our Deputies to prevent and put a stop to such wicked conduct when it came to their knowledge.

We understand that the aid granted to the French by the inhabitants of Beaubassin has been used as an argument to accelerate our ruin; but we trust that Your Majesty will not permit the innocent to be involved with the guilty; no consequence can be justly drawn, that, because those people yielded to the threats and persuasions of the enemy we should do the same. They were situated so far from Halifax as to be in a great measure out of the protection of the English Government, which was not our case; we were separated from them by sixty miles of uncultivated land, and had no other connection with them than what is usual with neighbors at such a distance; and we can truly say, we looked on their defection from Your Majesty's interest with great pain and anxiety. Nevertheless, not long before our being made prisoners, the house in which we kept our contracts, records, deeds, etc., was invested with an armed force, and all our papers violently carried away, none of which have to this day been returned us, whereby we are in a great measure deprived of means of making our innocence and the justness of our complaints appear in their true light.

Upon our sending a remonstrance to the Governor and Council, of the violence that had been offered us by the seizure of our papers, and the groundless fears the Government appeared to be under on our account, by their taking away our arms, no answer was returned to us; but those who had signed the remonstrance, and some time after sixty more, in all about eighty of our elders, were summoned to appear before the Governor in Council, which they immediately complied with; and it was required of them that they should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption which, during a course of nearly fifty years, has been granted to us and to our fathers, of not being obliged to bear arms, and which was the principal condi-

tion upon which our ancestors agreed to remain in Nova Scotia, when the rest of the inhabitants evacuated the country; which, as it was contrary to our inclination and judgment, we thought ourselves engaged in duty absolutely to refuse. Nevertheless, we freely offered, and would gladly have renewed our oath of fidelity, but this was not accepted, and we were all immediately made prisoners, and were told by the Governor, that our estates, both real and personal, were forfeited for Your Majesty's use. As to those who remained at home, they were summoned to appear before the commanders in the forts, which were showing some fear to comply with, on account of the seizure of our papers, and imprisonment of so many of our elders, we had the greatest assurance given us, that there was no other design but to make us renew our former oath of fidelity; yet, as soon as we were within the fort, the same judgment was passed on us as had been passed on our brethren at Halifax, and we were also made prisoners.

Thus, notwithstanding the solemn grants made to our fathers by General Philipps and the declaration made by Governor Shirley and M. Mascarene in Your Majesty's name, that it was Your Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of us as should continue in their duty and allegiance to Your Majesty, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their settlements, and the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges as Your Majesty's subjects; we found ourselves at once deprived of our liberties, without any judicial process, or even without any accusers appearing against us, and this solely grounded on mistaken jealousies and false suspicion that we are inclinable to take part with Your Majesty's enemies. But we again declare that that accusation is groundless; it was our fixed resolution to maintain, to the utmost of our power, the oath of fidelity which we had taken, not only from a sense of indispensable duty, but also because we were well satisfied with our situation under Your Majesty's Government and protection, and did not think it could be bettered by any change which could be proposed to us. It has been also falsely insinuated that we held the opinion that we might be absolved from our oath so as to break it with impunity, but this we likewise solemnly declare to be a false accusation and

which we plainly evinced by our exposing ourselves to such great losses and sufferings rather than take the oath proposed to the Governor and Council, because we apprehended we could not in conscience comply therewith.

Thus we, our ancient parents and grandparents—men of great integrity and approved fidelity to Your Majesty—and our innocent wives and children became the unhappy victims to those groundless fears; we were transported into the English Colonies, and this was done in so much haste, and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that from the most social enjoyments, and affluent circumstances many found themselves destitute of the necessities of life. Parents were separated from children, husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessities especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives. And even those amongst us who had suffered deeply from Your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to Your Majesty's Government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which Rene Le Blanc, the Notary Public before mentioned is a remarkable instance. He was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people and his family consisting of twenty children and about one hundred and fifty grandchildren were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than any of us, notwithstanding his many years of labor and deep sufferings for Your Majesty's service.

The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced for a livelihood to toil and hard labor in a southern clime, so disagreeable to our constitutions that most of us have been prevented by sickness from procuring the necessary subsistence for our families; and therefore are threatened with that

which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers and exposed to contagious distempers known in our native country.

This, compared with the affluence and ease we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen in this Province of Pennsylvania two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but Your Majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress.

We therefore hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially enquired into, and that Your Majesty would please to grant us such relief, as in your justice and clemency you will think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray, etc.

The different morals of the French inhabitants are long and argumentative, and are couched in respectful language. They all proceed from the basis of the conditional oath of allegiance, and most explicitly and firmly refuse to take any other, a refusal which they had uniformly persisted in ever since the conquest. The fact that, notwithstanding reiterated demands on them on many occasions to take the oath without reserve as other British subjects do, they had been suffered, from the conquest in 1710 to this time, a period of over forty years, to retain their lands and reside in the country upon a footing of neutrality, (a state of things partly owing to kindness and indulgence of government, and partly to weak and temporizing councils), had, no doubt, led them to believe that this was their rightful position. Under the governors and Presidents at Annapolis, they persisted in thus thinking, expressing and acting, while the government confined its assertion of a sovereignty to arguments and reprimands, with no apparent power or design to enforce its views. It would be the acme of absurdity to go on thus with a province, the chief part of the population feeling, either a hostile sentiment, or at least indifferent to the success, and progress of its rulers, and closely attached to a foreign power. On the settlement

at Halifax taking place, the tone of the provincial government became more firm and menacing, but unfortunately the habitants now looked on their neutrality as a vested right, sanctioned by long enjoyment; and as the major part of them had adhered as faithfully to the terms of the oath they had taken, in the light in which they had been taught to view it, as could well be expected of persons in their circumstances, I doubt not that they were, most of them, sincere enough, when, in their remonstrances, they appealed, to their past fidelity to their engagements. The occasional breach of the neutrality by individuals and even the desertion of several hundreds to Beauséjour, were not inconsistent with the pacific and honest intentions of the greater number. In the disturbed state of the country from French encroachments and Indian bands cutting off couriers and checking settlement, the milder rules of action must be abandoned, and military necessity produced measures that one may regard as cruel but unavoidable; but the day arrived when the British colonists believed themselves justified, in self-defence, to claim and enforce the true rights of their empire over this land; and while the measures adopted were severe and harsh, and in some particulars cannot be justified, it would be difficult to point out any other course that would have consisted with safety of the English. There can be no room to doubt that such a neutrality as had been suffered, but never sanctioned by the British crown, was wholly incompatible with its just rights of sovereignty, and that all measures requisite to end it—to bring the land and all its dwellers under unconditional submission to the laws of the empire, were now essential to the dignity of the nation, and to the preservation of its territory, so encroached and menaced by the French and their Indian allies.—Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*.

The transportation of the people in the manner executed was a blunder, and it is far more manly to acknowledge it as such than vainly to attempt to palliate or to excuse conduct at which, when coolly viewed in relation to its consequences, the moral instincts of mankind shudder. It would be unjust to the memory of the Honourable Charles Lawrence to say that he himself was at first cognizant of the consequences involved in his policy, but an impartial his-

torian, on a review of his public life, can scarcely fail to remark that when the panorama of Acadian suffering was fully unfolded to his view he beheld it with a countenance as unmoved as that of Napoleon, when on the day after a bloody battle he deliberately rode over the field—as was his wont—beholding without any visible emotion the havoc of war.—Campbell, *History of Nova Scotia*.

Of the cruelty and injustice of this sentence there can be but one question. Many were no doubt guilty of the charges alleged against them, as for instance on the recent occasion at Fort Beauséjour, where 300 of them were taken with arms in their hands, but the great bulk of the Acadians were a peaceable, orderly, industrious people, as their descendants are at this day. But no distinction whatever was made between the innocent and the guilty; the iniquitous and tyrannical decision of the Council was carried out under circumstances of the harshest cruelty. More than 7,000 persons were transported from their happy homes, which had descended from father to son through three or four generations, and dispersed among the colonies bordering on the Atlantic, from Massachusetts to Georgia. Their lands and possessions were forfeited to the Crown; no recompense was made for their great losses; they were only allowed to carry with them their money and such quantity of their household goods “as could be taken without discommoding the vessels.” Many escaped into the woods and sought a shelter from the Indians; others fled from the northern parts of the Province to Canada, Ristigouche, the upper waters of the St. John, St. John's Island, and Cape Breton. I cannot dwell longer upon this painful subject.—Richard Brown, *History of Cape Breton*.

Few readers of Canadian history can refrain from the thought that it would have been happier had it been otherwise. It is a painful chapter to read. The event, however, must be looked upon and judged according to the circumstances under which it took place. We must consider that no material sacrifice was asked from the Acadians, and that the demand to be loyal to the Government under which every man forty years of age had been born, cannot be looked upon as a wound to sentiment. This duty, on the part of the authorities, was persistently met by subterfuge and evasion. The Acadians refused

to give this proof of loyalty. The one feeling was hatred of the Government, and every Acadian was ready and willing to aid in the destruction of those not of his race and faith. He unhesitatingly followed the dictates of French leaders, intent on repossessing the territory which France had ceded nearly half a century previously. When these established facts are dispassionately weighed, the question pertinently presents itself; what other policy could be followed than to insist on one of the two alternates, that they should either become loyal subjects and abandon their threatening attitude; or submit to the measures which the authorities held to be expedient. Few can refuse to recognize that a decisive policy could no longer be delayed. In view of self-protection the removal of this population became a necessity. The decision had been long formed, but its execution had been deferred, in the hope that a better feeling would arise and render it unnecessary. The "blast of war" conveyed no uncertain sound: it proclaimed that hesitation was no longer possible, and that immediate action was necessary and inevitable. It was a stern and remorseless policy, in every way disastrous and crushing to the Acadians: painful to all concerned in its execution, but it was unshrinkingly adopted and consummated, from the conviction that it was an act of self-defence, unavoidable in an emergency of persistent, threatening disloyalty.

But the question arises,—Had the Government a right to impose such terms upon them? Their right to do surely is as clear as the right of a Government to defend a country against an enemy. The claims to neutrality put forward by the Acadians were wholly inconsistent with British supremacy in Acadia, even had their neutrality been real, instead of being fictitious. But when this pretended neutrality was made a cover for the most hostile acts, it became intolerable, and the Government had no other course open to them but to insist that they should either become loyal British subjects or quit the country. No less was due to those loyal British subjects who had come to Acadia to find homes for themselves and families, and who were hindered in the settlement of the country by the Acadians and their Indian allies. Doubtless the sorrows of a famished Acadian family furnish an admirable theme for a poet who desires to appeal to the sympathetic feelings of our nature; but the murdered British

settlers, slain in mere wantonness by the Indians, at the instigation of the French, also had claims upon humanity. The sad feature of the expulsion of the Acadians is that it brought sorrow and misfortune upon their wives and children, who certainly had not been guilty of any political offence; but that is a feature not peculiar to their case. Almost every man whose crimes bring him within grasp of justice, has innocent relations who suffer for his fault. Yet I have never heard that given as a reason why the guilty should go unpunished.—Hannay, *History of Acadia*.

It was Le Loutre who began the Expulsion of the Acadians. The ultimate cause of this emigration was the action of Cornwallis in demanding a renewal of the oath by the Acadians as a condition of retaining their lands. The new Governor was determined to bring matters to head. Either the Acadians were British subjects or they were not. There was no middle ground; they could not be "neutrals." If they were British subjects and would not take the oath of allegiance; if further, they gave their aid and comfort to the enemy or could be forced by the enemy to do so, they must be considered as rebels and treated accordingly. If they were not British subjects, and while being in a British Province, did not regard themselves as British subjects, their status was still worse. In a state of actual war with France it would be impossible to distinguish them from open enemies. The situation was without a parallel. In either case their presence in the province was a most serious menace to British Supremacy. The rapid increase in their numbers, their subserviance to their priests, their natural sympathy with those of their own race, the fact that not a few had borne arms against the British in the late war, made the power of the lawful owners of this territory as slight and precarious as when it did not extend beyond a common cannon shot from the walls of old Fort Anne. The situation was highly critical; the English governors met it not as all-powerful tyrants, but as men who in the midst of danger take obvious precaution for their safety.

Before passing judgement on the man who conceived and executed this removal of an entire population, it should be remembered that they acted as did Louis XIV in expelling the Huguenots from France and the United States in expelling the Tories. All were precautionary

measures dictated by the need of national self-preservation and they were regarded by those who took them as imperative in a dangerous crisis. Lawrence acted like the commander of a fort expecting a siege, who levels trees and houses outside the walls in order to afford the enemy no shelter, and to give the garrison a clear field of fire."—Dr. Archibald McMechan in *"Canada and its Provinces."* (Vol. 1, pp. 92-3, 98.)

EXTRACT FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF CONNECTICUT.

January, 1756.

An Act for distributing and well ordering the French People sent into this Colony from Nova Scotia.

Whereas there is a number of French people sent by Governor Lawrence into this Colony, and more daily expected, to be disposed of herein supposed to be about four hundred, in the whole.

It is therefore resolved and enacted by this Assembly, That a committee be appointed, and Hezekiah Huntington, Gurdon Saltonstall, Christopher Avery and Pygan Adams, Esqrs., or any three of them, are hereby appointed a committee to receive said people and distribute them in the towns hereafter mentioned in the following manner, viz: (Here follows a list of towns with number apportioned to each.)

And the selectmen of each of said towns are hereby directed and required to receive of said committee the number set to such towns as above, or as near as may be a like proportion of the whole number whether greater or less, and with the advice of the civil authority in such town to take care of, manage and support them as though they were inhabitants of such town, according to the laws of this Colony. And if said committee shall judge that any of said French people by reason of age, sickness, etc., shall be unable to travel, or cannot be conveyed from the town where they are or may be landed, that in such case said committee shall provide for and support such aged, sick or otherwise infirm persons at the charge of the Colony.

And, to prevent such French people making their escape out of this Colony

It is resolved and enacted, That none of them be allowed to depart out of the respective towns where they belong without a writing under the hand of some of the civil authority in such town allowing of such departure. And if any of said French shall be found in any other than that in which they were ordered to dwell, without liberty in writing as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the civil authority where such persons shall be found, to confine such persons until upon examination it can be known from what town they departed, and when known, to convey back from constable to constable to the towns where they belong, there to be confined and not suffered any more to depart without liberty as aforesaid. And said Committee are hereby directed to take care in distributing said people, that no one family of them be separated and sent into two or more towns.

This act to remain in force till this Assembly shall order otherwise.

And that a suitable number of copies of this act be forthwith printed and transmitted to each town mentioned herein.

February, 1756.

Resolved by this Assembly, That such accounts of expense and charges as have been occasioned by the distributing the Neutral French and providing for their support till they were assigned, be laid before the committee of Pay-Table, who are hereby directed to adjust the same and give orders on the Treasurer accordingly. Upon the memorial of Elisha Stoddard and others, selectmen for the town of Woodbury, representing to the Assembly that there has lately come to said town of Woodbury two families of the French Neutrals from Maryland, three persons in each family, and also showing to said Assembly that said town of Woodbury had their proportionable part of the French Neutrals to support, sent to this government by Governor Lawrence; praying to said Assembly to order concerning said neutral families. Whereupon it is resolved by this Assembly, that one of said families be immediately transported to the town of Litchfield, and the other of said families to the town of New Milford, by the direction of the selectmen of said towns of

Litchfield and New Milford are hereby ordered and directed to receive said French families and provide for their support and deal with them from time to time according to the directions of an Act of Assembly of this Colony made respecting the French families from said Woodbury to said towns be at the expense of transporting said French families from said Woodbury to said towns at the expense of this Colony.

Hon. Brook Watson to Rev. Dr. Brown.

London, 1st July, 1791.

“Rev. Sir:—

I have been favored with your letter bearing date ye 13th November last, wherein you inform me of your having been employed for some years in collecting materials for compiling a History of Nova Scotia, and that conceiving from my knowledge of the country which commenced at an early period of my life, and my connection with it continued up to the present time, I shall be able to aid your endeavors; you express a desire to receive from me information respecting the most interesting events which have occurred to my observation. It is true, sir, that I knew the Province in the year 1750, and my connection with it has from that period been uninterruptedly continued up to the present day, but it must be remembered that my whole life has been spent in one continued scene of mercantile business, consequently I am but ill qualified to aid your labors. I will, nevertheless, evince my respect and regard to the recorders of truth for the benefit of mankind by giving you the best account in my power of those occurrences to which your letter seems more immediately to point.

In the sixteenth century Acadia, or Acady, was first settled by people from Normandy, they were placed under the Government of Canada, but so remote their situation from Quebec, little communication could be held with them; they were, therefore, suffered to possess this extensive and fertile country with little or no control; their chief settlements were made on the borders of navigable rivers emptying into the Bay of Fundy, where marsh, or interval lands abounded, and which, when dyked to keep off the water occasioned

by high tides, produced excellent pastures, and without manure abundance of fine grain and pulse; hence the country soon became plentifully stocked with meat cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, and poultry of all sorts; the people left to themselves, without burthens on their property, or restraints on their industry, increased rapidly, possessing the means essential to substantial happiness. Luxuries they did not covet, to ambition they were strangers; bigoted Catholics they were, no doubt governed by their priests, but these were few in number and moderate in their views, till the year 1750, when one of their order, Monsieur LeLoutre, from Canada, laid the foundation for the miseries they experienced in 1755.

Acadia was ceded by England to France by the Treaty of Breda, in 1661, but afterwards taken by the English. It was acceded to them by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, under the express stipulation, that the inhabitants might remain with their possessions, subjects to the crown of Great Britain, with a right to the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, and thenceforth they were called neutrals. Their principal settlement was Annapolis Royal. Here the English built a fort and garrisoned it with English troops, changing the name of the Province from Acadia to Nova Scotia; but they took no measures for settling it with other inhabitants till the year 1749, when Colonel Cornwallis was appointed its first Governor, and carried from England a number of people who he settled at Chebucto, which he named Halifax, after the noble Earl who was then First Lord for Trade and Plantations. France, seeing the steps taken by England in settling the country, and dreading the influence it would give with the savages in the neighborhood of Canada, took every measure in their power to retard its progress. To this end they sent an officer with some troops from Quebec, in 1750, to encourage and support the Acadians and savages in impeding the English settlers. In this design they succeeded so well that in 1755 they became hardy enough openly to take part with the French in defending their garrison of Beauséjour, which had been built in 1751, on a hill at the bottom of the Bay of Fundy, within three miles of Fort Lawrence, fortified by

the English the preceding year. The former was taken the end of May or beginning of June, 1755, by four hundred British and two thousand Provincial troops, under the command of Lieut-Colonel Robert Moncton. The French garrison was allowed to go to Louisbourg, the Acadians to their respective homes. But Admiral Boscawen, then commanding a considerable fleet at Halifax, with Colonel Lawrence, the Governor of the Province, soon after determined on sending all the Acadians out of the country, and sent orders to Lieut-Colonel Moncton to embark them. He, in consequence, issued a proclamation commanding them all to appear at Beausejour (now Fort Cumberland) on a given day when, not suspecting the purpose, they were surrounded by troops and the men shut up in the fort, the women and children suffered to return home, there to remain till further notice should be given them. In the meantime transports were preparing to carry them out of the country. In September I was directed to proceed with a party of Provincials to the Baie Verte, then a considerable and flourishing settlement, there to wait further orders, which I received on the following day, to collect and send to Beausejour, for embarkation, all the women and children to be found in that district, and on leaving the town, to fire it; this painful task performed, I was afterwards employed in victualling the transports for their reception; the season was now far advanced before the embarkation took place, which caused much hurry, and I fear some families were divided and sent to different parts of the globe, notwithstanding all possible care was taken to prevent it. These wretched people, given up by France without their consent, were for adhering to their principles, which the liberal mind must deem praiseworthy, plucked from their native soil, cast out by the nation who claimed their obedience, and rejected by them from whence they sprang, and to whose religion, customs and laws they had evinced the strongest attachment. Many of the transports, having on board these homeless people, were ordered to France, about thirteen hundred perished by shipwreck on the voyage. Those who arrived France would not receive; they were landed at Southampton and other parts where, taking the small pox, they were carried off in great numbers. Of those who went to the French West

Indian Isles the greater part died for want of food, a famine at that time prevailed in the Island, the people could not support them, the Governor-General said they were not French subjects. Those who survived the calamity were sent to join the remaining brethren who had been sent to the British colonies from New England to Georgia; they were here more fortunate, for notwithstanding the rancor which generally prevailed against all Roman Catholics, their orderly conduct, their integrity, sobriety and frugality, secured to them the good will of the people and gained them comfortable support. But still longing for their native country, all their industry was stimulated, all their hopes supported by that landmark of their former felicity, many of them built boats, and taking their families, coasted the whole American shore, from Georgia to Nova Scotia; others dreading a tempestuous sea, went up the Mississippi, and crossing the lakes to Canada, descended the River St. Lawrence and so regained their former settlements. But alas! What did they find? All was desolated for the more effectually to drive them out of the country, all their houses had been burnt, all their cattle killed by order of the Government, hence they found no shelter, still they persevered with never failing fortitude, with unremitting industry, and established themselves in different remote parts of the Province, where they had been suffered to remain, but without any legal property, at least, I have not heard of any land having been granted to them; their numbers, I am told, have increased about two thousand, and am informed they still continue, what I know them to be in their prosperous state, an honest, sober, industrious and virtuous people; seldom did any quarrels happen amongst them. In 1755 I was a very humble instrument in sending eighteen hundred of those suffering mortals out of the Province. In 1783, as Commissary General to the Army serving in North America it became my duty, under the command of Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, to embark thirty-five thousand loyalists at New York to take shelter in it, and I trust all in my power was done to soften the affliction of the Acadians and alleviate the sufferings of the loyalists who were so severely treated for endeavoring to support the union of the British empire; they have good reason to bless the considerate mind and

feeling heart of Lord Dorchester, under whose directions and providential care, ever awake to their wants, I had the pleasing task of liberally providing for them everything necessary to their transportation and settlement, with provisions for one year after their arrival, and this allowance was still longer continued to them by the Public * * * to the eternal honor of the nation will be the record of their having considered the particular case of every individual who claims to have suffered by their loyalty, and after a ruinous war, which added one hundred and twenty millions to the public debt, granted compensation for their losses and relief for their sufferings to the amount of between three or four millions, besides annuities amounting to sixty thousand pounds a year.

You will perceive I have not noticed the division of the Province, which took place in 1784 or 5, when the line was drawn from Cumberland to the Baie Verte, leaving the former and all to the north of it in the newly erected Province of New Brunswick, on which lands the loyalists had generally settled.

If aught which I have communicated may in any degree prove useful to your work my feelings will be gratified. I give you thanks for having recalled to my mind transactions which were nearly obliterated, but being awakened, may be the means of producing some good to the poor Acadians who will remain in the Province, and they may have cause to bless you for recording their sufferings.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

Brook Watson."

Rev. Mr. Brown, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

VINDICATION BY SECRETARY BULKELEY AND JUDGE DESCHAMPS OF THE ACADIAN REMOVAL.

On every appearance of a public discussion of the events of the war of 1756—as far as related to the Province of Nova Scotia—the old servants of the government manifested their apprehensions and disquietude, and particularly when the case of the Acadians was mentioned.

When the translation of Raynal's history first arrived in the Province, the article Nova Scotia was inserted entire, in one of the newspapers, for the information and entertainment of the inhabitants. An alarm was taken by Mr. Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps; the publication was considered a personal injury, and an answer or refutation was immediately agreed upon between them. It was given with great ostentation in some of the following newspapers, which were put into my hands by the Judge, as a complete and satisfactory vindication of that measure.

When Messrs. Cochran and Howe began their magazine, in 1789,—not aware of the soreness of these people on the subject—they re-published the offensive piece. Mr. Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps complained and were as displeased as if it had been a personal attack. An answer, as formerly, was resolved upon. At that time I had the foresaid mentioned newspapers; and one morning, long before 7 o'clock, I was roused by a servant with a card from Judge Deschamps, requesting in a very urgent manner, that I would deliver to him the papers and all other documents he had given me relative to the subject.

By the aid of these the following paper was drawn up, which, as I understood, was sent to the printing office in the handwriting of Mr. Bulkeley. As it was not Mr. Cochran's wish to create any enemies and indeed his situation at the time would not admit of it, he prefaced Mr. Bulkeley's paper with the softening paragraph enclosed in the parenthesis—and without having traced the evidence, intimated a suspicion of Raynal's fidelity. Though I can take upon me—from a painful examination of the whole matter—to assert that Raynal neither knew nor suspected the tenth part of the distress of the Acadians. And that, excepting the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, I know of no act equally reprehensible as the Acadians removal, that can be laid to the charge of the French nation. In their colonies nothing was ever done that approaches it in cruelty and atrociousness.

Saturday, Aug. 18th, 1791.

The case of the Acadians stated.

(In our magazine for February last we inserted that part of the

Abbe Raynal's history of the settlement in the East and West Indies—which relates to Nova Scotia. That author was certainly fonder of indulging a happy and vigorous imagination than of searching with patience after the truth. This has led him to give a high and poetical coloring to every event that could interest the passions. Among many others of this sort, we apprehend, his fidelity may be somewhat questioned, in the account he has given of the removal of the French Neutrals, as they were called, from the Province. We, therefore, readily admit the following statement of the transaction, which we have received without and signature. W. Cochran.)

"In 1713 Nova Scotia was solemnly ceded to the crown of Great Britain by France, together with the inhabitants, reserving the liberty to those who chose it, of removing with their effects, provided such removal took place within 12 months; otherwise to remain the subjects of Great Britain. In 1720 General Philips was appointed Governor; and the inhabitants having remained beyond the limited time, were called on to take the oath of allegiance; many scrupled this, and declared they would not take arms against the French. It is said many who at last took the oath of allegiance did it under a promise that provided they behaved peaceably, they should not be required to bear arms against the French, but of this assertion there is no proof—nor could any Governor assume to himself such a dispensing power; however, from this they were usually styled French neutrals, and so called themselves. In the meantime they enjoyed the free exercises of their religion; they had priests in every district, and were suffered to govern themselves by their own usages and customs.

In the French war of 1744 they joined the Indians in the attacks against the inhabitants and garrison of Annapolis Royal, and supplied the Indians with provisions; to this purpose they were instigated, in some measure, by the Governor and the Bishop of Quebec and their priests, who were indefatigable in poisoning their minds with disaffection and enmity to the English.

When the settlement was made in Halifax, in 1749, before the people had erected their huts, they, with their priests, excited the In-

dians to disturb the progress making in building the town, and twice within the space of two years the Indians, with one of the Acadians ("Beau Soleil") at their head, attacked Dartmouth, and put many people to death. The town of Halifax was palisadoed to prevent their irruptions, and no person was in safety who ventured one mile from the town; and it was to prevent such incursions that a palisadoed block house was erected on the hill near this town, so called from thence; and as a further security, a line of palisadoes, with guard-houses, was extended to the head of the North West Arm.

From this time until the end of the year 1755 this country was kept in an uninterrupted state of war by the Acadians who, following the dictates of the Governors of Quebec and Cape Breton, to break up the English settlements, excited and assisted the Indians to cut off all communication between Halifax and the different parts of the Province; and in these days letters from the Governor at Halifax to the garrison at Windsor, and the reports of the officer commanding there, could not be conveyed with a less escort than an officer and thirty men.

In the year 1755 when the French were driven by the English troops from Beausejour—afterwards called Fort Cumberland—six hundred French Acadians appeared in arms against the King's troops. During all the time from 1749, and long before, these people were treated with the utmost lenity, and frequently called on to take the oath of allegiance—for no advantage could be expected from a country unpeopled—but every effort of this kind was in vain.

At length in the middle of the year 1755 the French sent out a considerable squadron of men-of-war with troops on board to Cape Breton. This squadron was commanded by Mons. Hocquart, who, with his own ship and another ship of the line, was taken and brought into Halifax by Vice-Admiral Boscawen. In these two ships some thousand of scalping knives were found, which were evidently for no other purpose than to be used against the English—a reward for every English scalp having been paid at Quebec.

At this time Cape Breton, St. John's Island, Canada, and the St. John's river, were in possession of the French; and it was discovered and ascertained by undeniable proof that detachments were

to be made of French troops from the places above mentioned against this Province; and they were in conjunction with the Indians, to make an attack on Halifax and burn it.

The number of troops in the different parts of the Province, at this time, did not exceed 3,000 men—part of which were troops raised in New England.

However, after this discovery the French Acadians were repeatedly called on to give testimony of their fidelity to the government; to which requisitions they more than—usually ostensibly refused. In this situation self-preservation was necessarily to be consulted; and they were sent to the different provinces then under the King's Government, with letters of commendation; when they were treated with humanity and kindness. Several of them went afterwards to France, where the Minister severely reprehended them for quitting a country under such mild government, where they enjoyed the toleration of their religion. Of these people many returned here and received offers of lands, on condition of becoming good subjects; but they peremptorily refused any other than the French King, and on the invitation of the Count d'Estaing, then Governor of Martinique, they hired vessels and transported themselves to that Island.

Besides the knowledge of several persons now living, who can attest the truth of what has been related, there are records to prove it.

The Abbe Raynal writes in the spirit of a Frenchman disposed to find fault with the English Government, and proud of making his historical discovery. But how had he his information? From a French Acadian who complains that he had been treated as a rebellious subject, and with such lenity as is not known under the Government of France."

Archives of Nova Scotia. Governor Lawrence to Lords of Trade and Plantations.

Halifax, 8th December, 1755.

"My Lords:—

I have the honor by this opportunity to transmit to your Lordships the opinion of the Chief Justice upon the manner of convening an Assembly in this Province. Tho' this is a matter, that in

many of its parts, I am by no means qualified to judge of, yet I think it my duty to lay before your Lordships such reflections as have occurred to me upon so important a subject.

"The general necessity of convening an assembly upon account of the present invalidity of the laws, being altogether a point of law, I can say no more upon that head than, that the laws are chiefly such, as it appeared indispensably necessary to make, for the good regulation of the Town of Halifax and the encouragement of its commerce, they were mostly made at the request of the Merchants, or the people whom they concerned, who have been perfectly satisfied therewith and have never made the least question of their validity that ever I heard, I have been well informed that at the first establishment of the Colony of Virginia, Laws were enacted in the same manner and continued in force until an Assembly could be easily convened for their confirmation.

"The enclosed opinion seems to be founded upon the necessity of performing a promise made to the first Settlers of their having an Assembly. I believe from the first settlement of the Province to the present time the Governor has been required by the 86th Instruction to call an Assembly, by causing two Members to be elected for each Township, but as the Town of Halifax is the only place qualified to elect two members, they alone would not be sufficient to form an Assembly, therefore I humbly apprehend such a promise, cannot in anywise be said to have been broken through, but its performance not yet become possible, by the circumstances of the Province. As to the manner proposed by the Chief Justice for convening an Assembly at present, by electing 12 members for the Province in the form of a County Election if it is to be any precedent for future elections, it will be attended with a very great inconvenience. As it is to be held at Halifax, which most likely will not be the residence of the landed people, but of the Merchants, the former whose well being is much more connected with the security of the Province, will be mostly excluded and the Assembly chiefly composed of the latter, who are not so nearly concerned in its welfare, and who may sometimes have views and interests incompatable with the measures

it may be necessary to take in a Province so contiguous both by land and water, to the whole force of the French in North America.

"I have now laid before you fully my thoughts upon this subject, which I flatter myself, your Lordships will receive with your usual candour, and excuse any error that may be found therein, upon reflecting how seldom it has fallen in my way to consider things of this nature.

"If it is thought necessary to put this plan or any other to the same purpose in execution, I beg of your Lordships that I may have full instructions upon the subject, which I will take care most punctually to execute. It would be necessary, in this case, to provide for the expense of a House for the Assembly to sit in, and for a Clerk and such salaried Officers as may be thought necessary for their attendance, for I can venture to assure your Lordships that the people here in general, are not in a condition of contributing any sum of money to defray such an expense.

I am etc

CHAS. LAWRENCE."

The Lords Commrs,
for Trade & Plantations.

Extract from Letter of Lords of Trade to Govr. Lawrence:

Whitehall, March 25th, 1756.

"We have taken into Our Consideration your Letter to us dated the 8th of December last, inclosing the Proposals of the Chief Justice for convening an Assembly in Nova Scotia, and although We are fully sensible of the numberless Difficulties which will arise in carrying this or any other plan for an Assembly into Execution in the present state of the province and that many of the inconveniences pointed out in your Letter must necessarily attend it, yet We cannot but be of Opinion, that the want of a proper authority in the Governor and Council to enact such Laws as must be absolutely necessary in the Administration of Civil Government, is an Inconvenience and Evil still greater than all these; and altho' His Majesty's subjects may have hitherto acquiesced in and submitted to the Ordinances of

the Governor and Council, yet we can by no means think, that that or any other reason can justify the continuance of the Exercise of an illegal authority; what you say with regard to the Council of Virginia's passing laws in the first Infancy of that Colony is very true; but then they derived the Power of doing it from their Commission, which was also the case of many other of the Colonies at their first settlement, and it was a Power of very short Duration, and in later times since the Constitution of this Country has been restored to its true principles has never been thought advisable to be executed.

"Whether the measure proposed by the Chief Justice is or is not a proper one depends upon a precise knowledge of a variety of Facts which we at this distance cannot be competent Judges of; but whether that or any other plan is followed it will only be a temporary Plan and in no degree a precedent for future Assemblies when the circumstances of the Province will admit of other Regulations.

"The first Assembly to be convened be it in what form it will, must necessarily consist of Persons of property in Trade, because there is no Person who can be truly said to have any considerable land interest until the Country is cleared and the Lands laid out, yet it may be proper and it will be necessary to take care, that a certain landed property, be it ever so small, be the Qualification as well of the Electors as the Elected, because the Commission directs that the Assembly shall be chosen by the majority of the Freeholders.

"The Election of twelve Persons or of any greater or lesser number to represent the whole Province considered as one County, may be a proper method as far as appears to us, but this must be left to your Discretion, who, by being upon the spot will be better able to determine upon this point, perhaps a Division of the Province into Districts or Townships may be the more eligible method, for altho' Halifax is at present the only Town in which there are any Inhabitants qualified to be Electors or Elected, yet as it is not proposed that actual Residence should be required in order to qualify a Person to act either one or other of the Capacities, the making a few Grants of land in any of the Districts, as Minas, Chignecto, Piziquid, Cobequid, etc., will remove this difficulty, and if this can be done, the first Assembly, bear the nearer Resemblance to the form, in which it

must be convened when the Province become better peopled and settled.

"This, however, We only throw out for your Consideration and desire it may be understood, that this point is left to your discretion under the Powers given you by your Commission.

"This being settled, the next Consideration will be the form of the Writ of Summons, the manner of executing it and the previous points to be settled before the Assembly proceeds upon Business, so far as regards the Election of a Speaker and the rules to be observed with respect to Dissolutions, Prorogations and Adjournments; as to all which points? We must refer you to the inclosed Copy of the form of a Writ made use of in the Province of New Hampshire, which appears to us (regard being had to the different circumstances of the two provinces) the best adapted to the purpose, and to the enclosed Copies of the Instructions lately given to the Governor of Georgia and to the members of the Council of that Province, showing the manner in which these Instructions were carried into execution.

"There is one point of the Chief Justice's proposal, however, which we can by no means approve of, and which must be particularly guarded against, and that is the continuance of the first Assembly for 3 years which might be and probably would be attended with great inconveniences, for, altho' We have no doubt but that the first Assembly will be constituted of proper Persons and Persons well disposed to promote the Public Service, yet it may happen either from some Defect in the first formation of the Assembly or from their irregular and improper proceedings, that the Governor may find it necessary for the good of the service to dissolve them and as it would be highly improper that his hands should, in such case be tied up, We thought it necessary to say thus much upon this Point, as it appears to us of great consequence.

"Another inconvenience necessary to be guarded against is long Sessions, which will not only be attended with Expense, but will also, in the present situation of affairs greatly obstruct and hinder you in necessary attention which you must give to other important matters; and therefore you will take care that the Sessions be as

short as possible and the meetings at such times as shall be most convenient as well to the members as to yourself.

"These are all the points which occur to us at present upon this important question, and it only remains for us to desire that you will take the earliest opportunity after the first Session of the Assembly to acquaint us in the fullest and most particular manner of all the steps you have taken in this matter, of the effect and operations of this measure with regard to the Public Service, pointing out to us at the same time the Conveniences and Inconveniences of it, how far the plan on which you proceeded is defective, the cause of those Defects, and in what manner you would propose to have them remedied to the end that we may lay the whole matter before His Majesty and the Plan for future Assemblys ascertained by proper Instructions from you."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF LORDS OF TRADE TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE.

Whitehall, July ye 8th, 1756.

"We have in our Letter to you dated the 25th of March last, given you our Sentiments at large upon the propriety and method of Summoning an Assembly, and as We are fully convinced of the expediency of this measure and are satisfied that until it be done, this Infant Colony cannot be truly said to be upon a permanent and lasting Establishment. We hope you will have thoroughly considered this matter and carried our directions into Execution. We have no doubt but that all His Majesty's Subjects in Nova Scotia enjoy their Rights and Libertys to the full extent under the present form of Government, but until an Assembly is established, malevolent and ill designing men will take occasion to complain and misrepresent things to the prejudice of the Colony, and even the best disposed of His Majesty's Subjects there, will be uneasy under the present form of Government, a petition setting forth the Inconveniency resulting from the want of an Assembly, having already been transmitted."

CHARACTER OF GOVERNOR LAWRENCE.

Sir:

We are extremely obliged to you for your favor of the 30th July last and for your assiduity in our affairs.

We can assure you sir, that we were almost without hopes of being considered as English subjects. The haughty and disdainful behavior of Governor Lawrence to all our remonstrances, though tendered with the utmost submission, gave us much reason to think he was countenanced at home by those we had all the reason in the world heretofore to think were the patrons and principal supporters of his infant settlement, and specially when it was publicly declared by Governor Lawrence's creatures, that those gentlemen in office here who had ever been solicitous to forward and promote the settlement and who had in every point behaved with honesty and integrity, specially the judges of the courts of justice and some of the council, would soon be displaced. They are the only men who have been the means of keeping the settlers from deserting in a body and supported the rights and liberties of the people.

Your letter has revived the hopes of the inhabitants, and it has been great comfort to them to find an Englishman in England who has their unhappy state and condition at heart and commiserates their bondage under oppression and tyranny.

We are sensible of the difficulties in England and the unsettled state of the Board of Trade which may retard our affairs; but, we are not without hopes, through your care and assiduity, that we shall meet with success in having an Assembly soon ordered to be established here; and we cannot help expressing our extreme satisfaction to find that it was the Lords of Trade's most earnest intention to have an Assembly instantly settled, as we are very sure it is of all things in the world the most necessary step to strengthen and establish this settlement and invite settlers to come and settle among us.

We cannot but express our most hearty sorrow that our good Lord Halifax has, at this critical juncture, resigned his place on the board. We are all to a man perfectly assured of that good Lord's sincere attachment to the welfare of the colonies, and look upon him truly

as the father of this colony. We are fully persuaded that he will use his utmost endeavors to remove from us our oppressor and the oppressor of all his good purposes; a person unknown to him and recommended by persons on whom he relied and whom we are sure were not acquainted with his bad heart and mischievous intentions, one of whom is General Hopson, who has had sufficient reason to alter his opinion. The other is General Cornwallis, who is too much a friend to this people if he could be convinced of the ill-treatment and unjust oppression this tyrant Governor has been guilty of ever to countenance or support him.

These are all the friends Governor Lawrence has in England, for, on this side of the water, he has none, either of the inhabitants or gentlemen of the army who hold him in the utmost contempt, except those formerly mentioned to you, his agents in oppression. Perhaps you will be more surprised to hear how this Governor who sometime ago was only a painter's apprentice in London should have advanced himself to such heights. We are obliged to confess that he had a good address, a great deal of low cunning, is a most consummate flatterer, has words full of warmest expressions of an upright intention to perform much good, though never intended, and with much art solicitously courts all strangers whom he thinks can be of any service to him. By these and such arts has he risen to what he is, and, elated with his success, is outrageously bent upon the destruction of every one that does not concur in his measures.

We beg leave to make this remark which we desire you will read at the end of twelve months, that if he be not removed Nova Scotia will be lost to the Crown of Great Britain, and the rest of the colonies be endangered of sharing the same fate, which ought to be the utmost concern of every Englishmen to prevent.

And, in order that you may in some measure understand the importance of this, he has prevailed with Lord Loudun to represent in England the necessity of placing this colony under a military government, and of suspending the charters and laws of the other colonies, the consequence of which, we apprehend, would be a struggle in the colonies for liberty, and a consequence too fatal to name. And while

the contentions subsist there, the French will penetrate in this Province; indeed they have no feasible conquest left them but this colony, and, if the others are deprived of their liberties, it is difficult to say what the effect will be, but the worst is to be feared.

We could say many things which nearly concern us about the affairs in this part of the world, but we are confident you will hear of them from better hands, for they must become public.

We cannot but express our most sincere acknowledgement of gratitude and thanks to the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, that great patron of liberty, for the condescension he has shown in taking notice of our affairs; and, so far as is reasonable and just we doubt not of this concurrence and assistance to procure us redress.

In answer to your remarks, that the quorum of sixteen is too large for the proposed number of twenty-two deputies for the whole Assembly. It is also our opinion, but it was the resolve of Council.

Our desires of having all placemen excluded from the Assembly, was owing to the circumstances of the colony under our present Governor. The voters are almost dependants, the officers are wholly so, it would therefore be the Governor's Assembly and not the peoples! Laws would be made according to his pleasure, and no grievance would be redressed. But if a Governor who has the welfare of the colony and the interest of the people, was appointed, this would be an immaterial point.

The reason why triennial Assemblies was proposed, was intended only for the first Assembly, in order to settle the Colony under an English Assembly; otherwise, foreigners, being the most numerous, and the time when they will be naturalized by a seven-year's residence near approaching, the future Assemblies might be mostly composed of foreigners, which might be dangerous to this frontier settlement.

As to the article of judges, a good Governor will avail more for the advancement of justice, and then a good judge would be under no concern lest he be displaced.

Another of the Governor's acts, is to misrepresent and abuse all below him. He has publicly called his Council a pack of scoundrels, the merchants a parcel of villains and bankrupts, and has represented in England the whole as a people discontented and rebellious. We

have authority of his saying and declaring this from his own mouth in the presence of many officers both of the army and navy. Is it possible sir, that people can be easy under such a Governor? We dare appeal to our two former Governors for our behavior under their administration, whose conduct to us was the very reverse of Governor Lawrence. Believe us, sir, we are not captious. We are not that *turbulent people* we have been represented; our interest obliges us to be otherwise; we desire nothing inconsistent with the prerogatives of the Crown; we desire none other than the liberties enjoyed by the other colonies; which His Majesty has graciously been pleased to promise by his Royal proclamation.

Our distresses have arisen from the malevolent disposition of Governor Lawrence and his creatures. Were they removed and a Governor of humanity appointed, one acquainted with the constitution of Englishmen and an Assembly settled, you would soon have the pleasure of hearing of the increase and success of this settlement, for we are well assured that five hundred families would remove from Massachusetts and settle immediately here, as we know the offer has been made to Governor Lawrence and rejected upon their requiring an Assembly to be first established, in order that they might have proper laws for their regulation and security of their property.

As for evidence of the people leaving the colony for want of an Assembly (those that are already gone), it would take time to collect them as they are dispersed in the colonies; and though one hundred more families are upon the point of removing they are extremely fearful of being denied passes if they should be found to have given such evidence, for you must know that Governor Lawrence obliges every master of a vessel to enter into bond, under a penalty of fifty pounds forfeiture, for every person they carry away without license obtained under his hand; and, this is done without the least shadow of law or order of Council; nor can any inhabitant go three miles from town without a certificate from a justice of the peace, so that Halifax is really a prison to all intents and purposes.

As for what you mention of the depositions not coming under the seal of the Province, we beg leave to inform you that it has never

been allowed to be fixed to any papers but their own, instead whereof Governor Lawrence fixes his private seal, and must see all the evidence or his secretary; therefore, to such kind of evidence it would be impossible to procure that, and, for want of the Province seal, many have suffered in their lawsuits in the neighboring colonies, or at the expense of sending witnesses where their suits have been depending, which are some among the many rights we are debarred of.

But we hope before this time many complaints have reached the ear of the Minister, and that it will shortly evidently appear, if it is not already manifest, that whilst Governor Lawrence has the least influence in American affairs, *so long will ruin and confusion attend them*. This truth, General Shirely in England, and Lord Charles Hay when he goes there, will, we are informed, make evident to demonstration, for it is generally believed, that, whatever specious crime may be alleged against Lord Charles Hay, his confinement was solely due to Governor Lawrence's insinuations to Lord Loudun, upon a private disgust to that Lord for examining too freely into the expenses of the batteries, etc., etc., and speaking too contemptibly of what had been done for the mighty sums expended in Nova Scotia.

We had not touched upon those matters, but as we think Providence more immediately seems to concern itself in discovering the villainous arts of the authors of our calamities, and hope will direct its measures in pouring vengeance on the man whose sole aim seems to have been to blast the good intentions of his country and to make all subordinates to him miserable.

It is with pleasure we hear that the accounts of Nova Scotia will be strictly enquired into, as we are very sure, if they were sifted to the bottom, it will be found that not less than ten thousand pounds of rum, molasses (of which there was not less than 30,000 gallons, which alone was worth £3,000), beef, pork, etc., etc., provisions and much merchandise for the supply of the Indians and French inhabitants were taken in Fort Beausejour, neither distributed as a reward to the captors nor accounted for, except some small quantity of beef and pork sold to Commissary Saul on Mr. Baker's supply, which was extremely bad and decayed, and certified by Governor Lawrence as provisions sent by Governor Shirley.

That the transports were kept near three months after the French Neutrals were ready for embarkation at an immense expense, and the New England troops kept six months after their service was over, and this for two special reasons: one to oblige them to enlist into the regulars, and the other to defeat General Shirley in raising a sufficient number of troops necessary for the summer's campaign. By which means Oswega was lost, and the expedition to Crown Point rendered abortive. We appeal to General Shirley for the truth of this.

That the cattle, etc., etc., of the Acadians were converted to private uses, of which we know 3,600 hogs, and near 1,000 head of cattle were killed and packed at Pigiguit alone and sent by water to other places; and what at other forts is yet a secret, all unaccounted for to the amount of a very large sum; and he and his commissary are now under great perplexity, and contriving to cover this iniquitous fraud.

That £30,000 has been laid out on batteries not worth thirty pence for the defence of this place in the judgment of every person acquainted therewith.

It is possible he may produce vouchers to cover all his frauds, for, if the true ones should fall short, he has those under him who have been used to such kind of work and can readily supply the deficiency. But, if a Governor was sent out with orders to inquire into these, or at least to take depositions, we are very sure the whole will be clearly made to appear.

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